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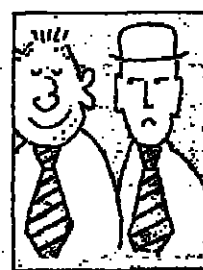
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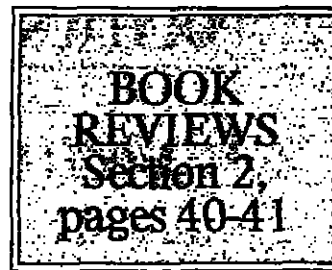
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THE TIMES

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Maastricht debate erupts in Commons

Major hits against 'scowling on the fringes of Europe'

By Philip Webster, Chief Political Correspondent

As party leaders bickered in the Commons over whether the Maastricht motion was one of confidence, Tory whips had no doubt — they were working up to the last minute to stave off defeat

JOHN Major yesterday launched his fight to save the Maastricht treaty — and possibly his future as prime minister — with a passionate declaration that Britain must not be left "scowling in frustration" on the fringes of Europe.

Facing a knife-edge vote that would determine whether the government's entire European policy was derailed, the prime minister warned Tory Euro-sceptics of the "fatal cocktail" of disunity and strife that would result if Britain shrank from honouring an agreement it had freely entered into.

In a noisy and bad-tempered Commons debate, marked by savage Liberal Democrat and Labour attacks on each other, the prime minister was supported by Sir Edward Heath, who urged the Euro-dissidents not to endanger the government. "I cannot recall any episode in which those who held a different view were prepared to endanger the life of their government," he said.

John Smith, the Labour leader, defended his party's decision to oppose the government, denouncing the motion calling for progress on the Maastricht bill as a "product of the internal machinations"

of the Tory party. The vote was not about Europe, but about the government, and the Liberal Democrats, who planned to back the government, had been conned. "And the reason you have been conned is that you suffer from two great defects: naivety and self-importance."

Highlighting what he called Mr Major's "on-off threat to hold a general election", he persisted: "Is there anyone in this House naïve enough to believe that the government motion is only about the timing of the committee stage of the European Communities (Amendment) Bill? How can a motion which attracted the threat of a general election not be about the credibility, competence and authority of the government?"

Paddy Ashdown hit back by charging Mr Smith with "discreditable political opportunism". Constantly heckled by Labour MPs, the Liberal Democrat leader said Labour's tactic of turning the debate into a confidence issue could backfire. If the government lost, there would be no general election but at the same time Britain would have no future in Europe.

As the party leaders argued in a packed and noisy chamber, Conservative whips and party officials were engaging in frantic last-minute efforts to secure a government majority after the Ulster Unionists confirmed at a lunchtime meeting that they would support the Labour amendment. One senior party figure said he had not seen the "power of the machine" deployed so strongly for 20 years.

As the debate began, the

arithmetic appeared to be slightly balanced against the government, but ministers remained hopeful that enough wavering MPs could be persuaded to abandon plans to abstain and decide instead to back the government. They were being called in to see whips and ministers, and Mr Major himself met some of the sceptics.

By mid-afternoon there were signs that the pressure was having some effect. One Tory MP was reported to have switched sides to back the government, and a handful of the younger ones admitted they were "under the cosh". MPs were told in private meetings that Mr Major's authority was at stake, although the prime minister's friends said they had told him there must be no question of his resigning if he lost.

Inside the chamber, Mr Major made a lengthy, much-interrupted speech, tackling at length the concerns raised with him by Conservative MPs over recent weeks. Britain could not make a success of EC membership unless it ratified the treaty, he said, and he would be doing the country and the House a disservice if he did not back that judgment "with all the force at my command".

Failure to endorse Maastricht would lessen the government's ability to negotiate successfully on matters of "our own national self-interest", and "national self-interest is not about striking attitudes but about striking deals which are in our own interest."

"A centralist Europe is most likely to develop if Britain has no influence in the Commun-

ity, if Britain is sidelined, if we do stand aside and let others run Europe, while Britain scowls in frustration on the fringes. That's not the sort of Community this country wants and it would not be in the interest of this country or any political party to stand on the sidelines."

Britain should play a full part, arguing its case, forming alliances, exercising influence and authority, persuading, pushing and fighting for its interest — and sometimes digging in its toes.

The most rumbustious exchanges came when Mr Major accused Labour of having put down a "fraud" amendment. Labour had not adopted the politics of principle, but the politics of expediency, he said. Mr Smith was trying to hide behind Denmark and the splits in his own party; his message was "Lord give me Europe, but not yet" and the amendment was a Napoleonic amendment because it said "not tonight, Josephine. We'll debate it at some other time".

The leader of the Opposition was said to be a man of great principle with deeply held views about Britain's place in Europe, but Mr Major said: "Mr Smith has his principles absolutely cast adrift on a sea of expediency. And when that happens, he is in Opposition and will deserve to stay there. That is the sort of contemptible wriggling that will earn him no plaudits either here or in the Community."

No one should kid themselves, he said, that without Maastricht there would be a Community without any of the problems posed by the Maastricht debate. They would instead have a Community fighting day by day, time and time again, all the battles that

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Leaders of a Re-United States



Victory embrace: Mr and Mrs Clinton celebrate at the Old State House in Little Rock

Clinton calls for new beginning

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON AND BEN MACINTYRE IN LITTLE ROCK

A NEW era in American politics began yesterday with Bill Clinton, the president-elect, calling for a "new patriotism" and a "Re-United States" in which all Americans work as one to rebuild their country. He laid out his vision of a "new beginning" and "a new partnership for a new America" before thousands of supporters in Little Rock.

When Mr Clinton, his running-mate Al Gore and their families finally emerged from the Old State House, a deafening roar erupted followed by chants of "Landslide, Landslide." Governor Clinton said: "This election is a clarion call

the man from Hope, Arkansas, promised "to face problems too long ignored — from AIDS to the environment ... to the conversion of our economy from a defence to a domestic economic giant."

On the morning after his sweeping victory, Mr Clinton set immediately to work on forming what Mickey Kantor, his campaign chairman, said would be "America's administration", including Republicans and Independents as well as Democrats and going "beyond partisanship".

John Major said he planned to meet Mr Clinton in the next few weeks to cement the "special relationship" between the United States and Britain. He congratulated Mr Clinton on a stunning victory.

"I am confident the cornerstones of US foreign and defence policy will remain firmly in place and that the close partnership between Britain and the US will continue," he said. He also praised George Bush: "He has, I believe, been an extraordinarily good president for this country and to Europe as a whole."

Mr Bush, the first elected Republican president since Herbert Hoover in 1932, generously praised the "strong" Clinton campaign and urged the country to get behind its new president. He would now devote time to what he called the "grandchild business".

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Bush: downcast as he concedes defeat

for our country to face the challenges of the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the next century. To restore growth to our country and opportunity to our people, to empower our people so they can take more responsibility for their own lives."

Describing his partnership with Senator Gore as a remarkable coalition for change,

US fires first shot in world trade war as farm talks fail

FROM GEORGE BROCK IN BRUSSELS

EUROPE and America stepped towards a costly transatlantic trade war last night after the failure of long-running talks on farm subsidies triggered an American demand for sanctions against European imports to the US.

The two sides were closer to a full-scale tariff battle than at any time during the six years that the world's trading states have been trying to write a new world trade treaty. Politicians on both sides of the Atlantic lamented the probable loss of an opportunity to boost the global economy out of recession and predicted that the transition from President Bush to President Clinton could be overshadowed by

escalating bitterness over the EC and US's failure to agree plans to cut farm subsidies.

The Dutch trade minister, Yvonne van Rooy, said: "Shrinking trade conflicts will now be revived. That is bad not only for industrialised economies but also for developing countries and countries in the Middle East and eastern Europe."

Last-minute talks collapsed in Chicago late on Tuesday night and no further contacts are planned, though neither side ruled out resuming talks. Yesterday American negotiators sought support from other governments belonging to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) for a pro-

gramme of punitive sanctions against European goods directed mainly at France. US negotiators blamed mainly France for the breakdown — a responsibility the French government cheerfully accepted, saying its firmness had blocked a deal which would have been bad for France.

The EC last night prevented an agreement on sanctions in the GATT council, but America is likely to raise tariffs unilaterally. The 100 per cent duties would not take effect for at least a month and would be likely to hit French exports such as cheese and wines.

Trade war likely, page 12
GATT threat, page 25

Get Mum to pay the mortgage

By Rachel Kelly, Property Correspondent

PARENTS who have enjoyed the fruits of property booms could hold the key to relieving the plight of their children who have suffered during the recession and are trapped in houses worth less than the mortgage.

In a scheme proposed by the Woolwich Building Soci-

ety, parents would volunteer to offer their home, on which they had enjoyed capital appreciation and had paid off most of their mortgage, as security for a proportion of the child's new mortgage.

The extra security of the parent's house would allow the child to move by guaranteeing part of the debt incurred by a larger mortgage, the costs of moving house,

and the negative equity on the existing house. The rest of the debt would be secured on the child's new house.

The scheme could help thousands of people trapped in houses because of debt but want to move, of whom there are about a million. The Woolwich estimates it could help 5,000 of its borrowers.

Parents' rescue, page 6

999 calls computer fails again

By Tim Jones

LONDON Ambulance Service yesterday abandoned its £1.5m computer-based 999 emergency calls system and reverted to manual control after new faults in the system. When it broke down last week unions claimed that 20 lives had been lost.

Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, is expected to announce soon the terms of reference of an independent inquiry, and yesterday Martin Gorman, the acting chief executive, said the computer would not work again until problems had been solved.

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Sweaty, shuddering struggle to speak the words nobody dared utter

HE CALLED it a point of order. He rose, all 19 stone of him, from his customary seat on the government backbenches. His great frame shuddered as he drew breath, shirt rucked violently along a belt-line which bore all the marks of a zone of intense struggle. His suit looked utterly defeated. His big, wide face was wet with perspiration. A handkerchief hung damply from his top pocket, a small white speck upon the whole picture, dwarfed by the perspective.

The great man was ready to speak. This was more than a member of Parliament: this was a phenomenon.

"Mr Geoffrey Dickens"

called Madam Speaker. "Oh!" called 400 MPs. "Madam!" followed the phenomenon. His shoulders heaved, rising and falling like a ship upon the swell of giggles, whispers and murmurs that greeted him from all corners of the chamber. "Madam: I, like many members, am having difficulty knowing what today's debate is all about."

Not for the first time, and not for the last, the member for Littleborough and Saddleworth, colossus of the Penines, scourge of paedophiles, aficionado of the rope and hammer of the practitioners of witchcraft, articulated what

none other dared say. Geoffrey K. Dickens spoke for the nation.

What, indeed, was it all about? Following parliamentary debates is like falling in love. You build up your hopes before the big event although you know you are disappointed by the last one. You are duly disappointed anew. Yet, when the next chance comes round, you somehow persuade yourself that this time it's going to be different. It never is.

It wasn't yesterday. A glance at the government front bench should have told us that. They simply looked exhausted. Michael Heseltine, in a sober suit and



MATTHEW PARRIS
POLITICAL SKETCH

unshowy tie, seemed to hug his own shoulders as though trying to make himself smaller, for the moment.

Douglas Hurd looked sour, his hand hovering at his mouth. Kenneth Clarke leaned back, shattered, his arms by his side.

Michael Portillo, who seemed to be hiding behind the Speaker's chair, managed a weak little smile.

And in came John Major, to a huge cheer. In came John Smith, to a huge cheer. In

came Paddy Ashdown, to a little cheer. ...

Up jumped Bowen Wells MP, a household name in Hertford and Stortford, and made a speech on his bill to repeal the Caravan Sites Act (1968). Madam Speaker asked him to bring his bill formally to her table and, as he rose to do so, another Tory dived in and nipped his seat. This told you more about the parliamentary Conservative party than the whole six hour debate to follow.

Which duly followed. John Major made a long, dull but surefooted speech. He began by observing that the whole world was in a mess and moved on to random observations about Europe, Maastricht and "digging in our toes (sic) and saying no".

MPs' attention began to wander. Major spoke of visa policy, a "double-lock mechanism", "stage two of the convergence criteria", the "pillars" of the Maastricht accord, agreements made "under the pillars", and a good deal more pillar talk.

Michael Fabricant (C. Mid Staffs) scratched his wig. Wasn't this supposed to be about the government's

future hanging in the balance? We had bought tickets for a romp. This was not a romp. Would John Smith be better?

He was worse. He made the mistake of trying to justify the Opposition's stand. When your motive is to wound and your occasion opportunistic, it's best just to grin. Instead, lurching from sophistry to pedantry, he involved himself in an unseemly wrangle with the government front bench about what documents were or were not in the Commons library. Who cared?

Finally, despairing of his speechwriters, Mr Smith began quoting a leading article from *The Sunday Tele-*

graph, which seemed to go on for hours. There must be better ways of bringing down the government.

In five or six crisp phrases, Ted Heath, who followed Mr Smith, sliced him through, leaving Paddy Ashdown to make one of his best parliamentary speeches in years.

But then Ashdown knew what his speech was for: it was for hitting the Labour party with. Smith's speech seemed to be for fending off attack, instead of pressing his own. Major's speech was for getting him through the next few days of his personal nightmare. We were not talking about Europe. We were talking about ourselves, as usual.

Whips frogmarch rebels who ignore the fireside chat

By SHEILA GUNN
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

SWEAT and tears have been spilt on the carpet at Westminster in the cause of trying to secure a "yes" vote for the government in the great Maastricht debate, but bloodshed has been avoided, despite tactics ranging from the extremely crude to the cunningly subtle.

Some potential Tory rebels broke under the pressure. But, with a few, the strong-arm tactics have proved to be counter-productive. Walter Sweeney, the vicar of the Vale of Glamorgan, was howled out by the truly heavyweight Tory whip David Lightbown in the middle of the Members' tea-room, to little avail.

However, a motion passed by his constituency officers, faced through to him minutes before the debate opened, worried Mr Sweeney deeply. It expressed "displeasure" at his stated intention to vote against the government. Voting was 15 in favour of the constituency motion, six against with four abstentions.

"Being a rebel is no fun whatsoever unless you are incredibly thick-skinned," he said. "Although most colleagues treat you like a human being, the odd one looks straight through you. Labour people, who normally would not talk to you at all, are very affable. I don't know which makes you more unhappy, because you don't want to be a rebel against your own party. It is not something you do lightly."

With the new intake, the Tory hierarchy has tended to use the double-handed "nice and nasty" tactic so beloved by the police. The potential miscreant is invited to meet John

■ It takes a backbench rebel with a hard heart and a thick skin to withstand the whips' not-so-gentle art of persuasion in the corridors of power

Major, Michael Heseltine or Richard Ryder, the chief whip, for a fireside chat. If that doesn't work, a whip, or a minister such as Nicholas Soames with good "whipping" credentials, is designated to make clear to the MP that he has dashed all hopes of a ministerial career. Those little slivers of patronage that can enlighten a backbencher's life, such as a jaunt abroad, are also dangled in front of them as bait.

Sometimes it all proves too much. John Whittingdale, the new MP for Colchester South and Maldon and former political adviser to Margaret Thatcher, had been intending to vote against the government but had been prevailed upon to abstain. He had visibly aged by yesterday afternoon through his efforts to please both his present and former bosses. After Baroness Thatcher failed to persuade him to rebel, he left her office clearly distressed.

Another freshman, too scared to be named, claims that he was frogmarched by a whip on to the chilly terrace for a proper dressing down. The theme, he reports, was that rebellion would bring him "ten minutes of fame" followed by a lifetime in the political wilderness. He gave in.

With the older intake, the tactics are geared to the individual. Bill Walker, the veteran Scottish MP, was

threatened with removal from the chairmanship of the Tory backbench Scottish affairs committee. He tells of telephone calls by whips and others to his local party officers in Tayside North asking them to work on him.

A key player behind the scenes at Conservative Central Office has been Sir Basil Feldman, chairman of the national union, the party's voluntary wing.

Sir Basil is said by many "wobblers" to have rung up constituency chairmen, appealing for help in urging their MP to back Mr Major. His message has been that the fate of the government was at stake. The "M" word is rarely used, one rebel confided.

It takes an extremely determined backbencher to withstand such pressure from colleagues both inside Westminster and their constituency headquarters.

The "nice" tactic might prove useless against the hard-line Euro-sceptics but has paid dividends with those merely unhappy with the government's handling of the Maastricht issue. Just before midnight on Tuesday, Mr Major returned to Westminster from the state banquet at Buckingham Palace with the Sultan of Brunei for a talk with Robert Jones, MP for Hertfordshire West and listed as a rebel. By the time the debate opened, Mr Jones was definitely wobbling.



Tea-room mauling: Walter Sweeney, who withstood an encounter with David Lightbown

Kohl says treaty will not create a superstate

By SHEILA GUNN
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

HELMUT Kohl, the German chancellor, backed John Major yesterday in asserting that the Maastricht treaty does not mark the foundation of a European superstate.

As ministers strive to improve Anglo-German relations since the débâcle of Black Wednesday, Herr Kohl echoed the prime minister's criticism of the pro-federal comments of Martin Bangemann, an EC vice-president and a former German minister. He said in *The European newspaper*: "We have not laid the foundation stone with Maastricht for a European superstate which reduces everything to the same level and blurs the differences. Rather we have committed ourselves to a Europe constructed on the principle of 'unity in diversity'."

He also said that the loss of the Maastricht treaty could delay for more than a generation moves to bring Europe closer together. Insisting that Europe could not be run at the pace of the slowest ship in the convoy, he also said that all nationalities would remain "deeply rooted in our home regions", saying: "We will remain Germans, Britons, Italians and Frenchmen — and at the same time we will be Europeans."

He warned other European leaders that development of the Community must not be held up by the least enthusiastic members. He did not wish to isolate individual partners or to exclude them, he added, but "we do not want a Europe of two or three speeds."

Mr Major and Herr Kohl, with other ministers, will meet at Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, next Wednesday for summit talks. At the top of the agenda will be economic issues, especially since sterling's withdrawal from the ERM, and the fate of the Maastricht treaty.

Herr Kohl's intervention in the dispute about the impact of the treaty came as the weekly magazine *Vrij Nederland* published what it alleges to be the verbatim minutes of the Maastricht summit last December. According to the magazine, Mr Major emerged as the "winner" of the negotiations by insisting on toning down many of the provisions. There was goodwill for Mr Major at the summit because of the European Council's earlier problems with Margaret Thatcher.

The minutes also talk of Mr Major's success in throwing out plans for European immigration, security and defence policies, and rejecting much greater powers for the European parliament.

Danger of 'scowling on fringes'

Continued from page 1

were fought and largely won in the treaty. "Anyone who believes that that situation of uncertainty would be good for political stability, business, growth and jobs would be deluding himself. It would be a fatal cocktail."

Mr Smith, accused by one Tory MP of being an "unprincipled wriggler", described the debate as an opportunity to "garner support for a discredited prime minister and discredited government", before going on to launch a bitter personal attack on Mr Major. The prime minister had the precise opposite of the Midas touch, he said.

"From Black Wednesday to the pit closure fiasco, to the mysteries of whatever the government's new economic policy is, his baleful presence courts disaster. Even at Stamford Bridge, Chelsea fans would prefer that you stay away, because most times you attend they lose."

Labour would not be consoled by the "government's contrivances," he said, to cheers from his backbencher, and declared: "We will vote against a government who are undermining our society, destroying our economy and thereby wrecking our future in Europe."

Explaining his tactics, Mr Ashdown said: "We will not vote for the government. We will vote for Britain's future in Europe. We will not vote for the prime minister. We will vote to save jobs and get the economy going again within the only context that makes that possible."

Key to the treaty, and Peter Riddell, page 3 Commons debate, page 4.5 Diary, page 20

Continent appalled by British failure to create consensus

FROM GEORGE BROCK IN BRUSSELS

EUROPE'S commentators and chanceries watched last night's struggle over the Maastricht treaty in the Commons with appalled fascination. After almost two years of John Major's leadership of the Tory party, few continental observers claim to understand his thinking on Europe.

The strains of ratifying the treaty have again uncovered the gulf of misunderstanding separating continental political cultures from the volatile argument which periodically racks British and Danish governments when they sign another phase of European integration. On this side of the Channel, Euro-scepticism is confined to the nutty fringes of parliamentary debate or emerges from under a blanket of indifference only on special occasions, such as the French referendum campaign.

Francesco Martelli, a seasoned Italian television commentator on Europe, said: "In the continental tradition, there are issues where a national consensus holds, no matter what — or parties get together to try to build it on a question like Europe."

Despite the close scrape in France in September, ten of the European Community's 12 political establishments think that Maastricht ratification is secure and are concentrating on the kn-edge battles in London and Copenhagen. They are torn between trying to bully the recalcitrants and avoiding accusations of interference in domestic politics.

Seen from Westminster and Whitehall, Mr Major's approach to the EC has combined the traditional Tory leader's role of evading any party split on Europe while deploying his niceness to win

support from powerful players such as Chancellor Kohl.

Mr Major's wish to be at the heart of Europe was interpreted in Bonn, Brussels and Paris as an intellectual revolution rather than a charm offensive. Many observers failed to notice that its ambivalence over Europe was not created by Margaret Thatcher, she merely voiced her scepticism without worrying about the diplomatic damage.

European leaders have discovered slowly that her successor is kinder and gentler, but has a smaller Commons majority and is more easily pushed around by his backbenchers. German press commentary on the Major government this week has been harsh: the prime minister is "groggry", may never regain his former popularity and will chair the EC's Edinburgh summit deprived of political support in his home country.

As the prime minister's statements on when Maastricht would be brought back to the Commons flip-flopped during the summer and early



Bangemann: different world from Major's

autumn, continental capitals grew uneasy trying to follow the zig-zags. One Belgian official in the European Commission headquarters in Brussels reported muttered criticism that the British government was abusing its EC presidency by putting its domestic agenda on top.

A deep reservoir of federalist impatience is building up behind the reluctance of the British and Danish parliaments to ratify Maastricht. The irritation inside the Commission is compounded by Eurosceptic resentment at being singled out as responsible for the Danish rejection by issuing too many daft directives harmonising, for example, the size of Europe's condoms.

Against this background Martin Bangemann, Germany's senior commissioner in Brussels, delivered his standard speech arguing that the Maastricht treaty did not go far enough in the direction of a federal state but was at least a start. In doing so he was closer to mainstream European thought than Mr Major and was offering an interpretation of a treaty which is flexible enough to permit many readings. Although Herr Bangemann's officials knew that he would speak in Berlin on the eve of the debate at Westminster, they had little inkling of the fuss that their commissioner's brutal contradiction of the British government's defence of the treaty would stir up.

Herr Bangemann probably did not intend Mr Major any harm, but as a German of classic federalist views and a vice-president of the Commission, he lives in a different world from Britain's prime minister.

Lubbers favoured by Delors

RUUD Lubbers, the Dutch prime minister, has been informally anointed as the chosen successor to Jacques Delors as the president of the beleaguered European Commission, which initiates and enforces EC law (George Brock writes).

No formal decision by EC leaders is likely for some time but this week both M Delors and Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, both broke silence on the subject of the succession for a job which M Delors has turned into one of the most prominent on the Continent. "Personally, I think he will be the right man in the right spot," M Delors told Dutch radio yesterday.

That endorsement, after a similar endorsement from the German leader, almost certainly discourages any other candidate from entering the lists. Decisions taken jointly by M Delors and Herr Kohl are rarely overturned.

If M Delors does not leave Brussels prematurely to campaign for the French presidency, Mr Lubbers would not succeed him until 1995 when he would have just retired after 12 years at the head of a Christian Democrat-led coalition in The Hague. Mr Lubbers, 53, has just celebrated ten years as prime minister and is clearly looking for a wider stage than Dutch politics.

He has never declared an open interest in the job but displayed his qualifications as a conciliator when he chaired the Maastricht summit to finalise the treaty now encountering a rough reception in Britain and Denmark.

Long and tortuous path that began with Kinnock clashes

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE decision by John Major to gamble his premiership on winning last night's vote on the Maastricht treaty is the culmination of a long and tortuous path that stretches back to Commons exchanges with Neil Kinnock on June 3.

As a tense and excited Commons gathered to debate the implications of Denmark's unexpected rejection of the treaty the night before, the then Labour leader demanded a thorough written report on the significance of the referendum and a debate on the report "before any further progress on the bill is sought".

In broad terms, Mr Major agreed — taking the first fateful step towards a showdown with the Tory Euro-phobes that would call into question his future as prime minister and fleetingly raise the spectre of a second election in a year.

At the time, Mr Major's promise to test parliamentary opinion on the bill was lost amid the furor generated by the Danish road-block on the road to closer European union. But as the heady days of the early summer were soon clouded by a series of U-turns ending with the climbdown over pit closures, it was one promise he was determined to keep.

Throughout repeated backbench uprisings over Maastricht and the turmoil of sterling's expulsion from the exchange-rate mechanism, Mr Major held to one fixed point: a commitment to ratify the bill and to hold what eventually became known as the "paving debate", clearing the way for the line-by-line scrutiny at committee stages.

Mr Kinnock, now free of the cares of office, spent yesterday standing in for Jimmy Young

on Radio 2 and renewing old acquaintances with beary-eyed *American Democrat* as they rejoiced in Bill Clinton's victory. For Mr Major, straining at the dispatch box to win over the handful of Conservative waverers standing between triumph and disaster, for once Mr Kinnock's position might have seemed enviable.

Not that the prime minister's remarks on June 2 committed him irrevocably to the



Kinnock: carefree and enviable position

course he took. The written report mentioned by Mr Kinnock never materialised and there have been ample opportunities for the prime minister to follow the advice of his whips and back away from a confrontation with the rebels until the government had moved into calmer waters.

As one minister gloomily put it on the eve of the debate: "When you have just fallen at three fences (David Mellor, the ERM and the coal industry) you don't single out the highest fence on the course and try to jump that."

Remarks made by the prime

minister in the immediate aftermath of Black Wednesday suggested he might have been considering such a tactical retreat. On September 21 he promised a "profound look" at the future of the EC at the Birmingham summit, which had been hastily called for October 16. Three days later, in the emergency Commons debate on the ERM debacle, he appeared to have given himself even more elbow room when he said it would not make sense to bring the bill back to the Commons before "we know clearly what Danish intentions are, and when and how the Danes propose to consult their people again."

But a week later Mr Major closed the door on one more U-turn. Against a growing chorus of criticism of drift and lack of leadership in Downing Street, he first squared the Birmingham agenda with his European partners, then won cabinet backing for a trial of strength with the Euro-rebels. Waiting for Copenhagen to make all things clear, the one opt-out clause left to the prime minister came to be scorned as hiding behind the Danes.

Even the tumult at the Tory conference the following week, orchestrated by Lord Tebbit and Baroness Thatcher, failed to deter him. Buoyed by the positive response to his new growth-orientated economic policy, on October 22 he telescoped his timetable. The paving debate would be on November 4 and Maastricht would live again before the end of the month.

Once Labour seized the main chance and decided to make the vote one of confidence in the government, the scale of Mr Major's gamble was laid bare.

Interpreting the treaty

Key to understanding lies in the pages of European history

By MICHAEL BRYN, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

Maastricht is, as all its defenders and critics acknowledge, both a compromise and a hotch-potch. It did not give any of the signatories all they wanted, politically, nor was it free from ambiguities which allowed all parties to read into it what they wanted for domestic consumption but which threatened to cause intractable controversy in interpretation and implementation. Maastricht contains three main elements: a treaty on economic and monetary union, a treaty of "political union" and a reform of the structures and functioning of the Community.

ECU ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION

THE heart of the treaty is EMU. This lays down a three-stage plan for the irrevocable change to a single currency, the ecu. The plan makes participation in the exchange-rate mechanism a prerequisite for all countries participating in the second stage. Britain's withdrawal made this point extremely controversial.

In the second stage, a forerunner to a Central European Bank will be set up and all governments shall "endeavour" to avoid excessive budget deficits. This is seen by opponents as an erosion of the Chancellor's right to make his own decisions. All countries must promote economic convergence — including low inflation and stable exchange rates. Opponents argue that this would again tie Britain to the policies of countries such as Germany, whose economic and political conditions are unsuited for export but whose dominance would effectively set the pattern for pan-European economic policy.

The third stage, locking all currencies under the control of an independent central bank, will begin in 1996, a majority of seven nations have met the criteria. Britain won the right of an opt-out, something Denmark is also pressing for. Germany, with cold feet on sacrificing the mark, has announced that it, too, wants a parliamentary vote, angering such countries as France.

EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP

ONE aspect of the treaty that has particularly disturbed opponents is the reference to citizens of members states also being citizens of "the union". This would give them widespread rights to move freely around the Community, to vote and stand as candidates in local and European parliament elections in whichever member state a person resides, to be represented abroad by diplomats of any member state. But anti-Maastricht campaigners say citizenship, in international law, is inextricably linked to statehood, and the concept of a citizen of the European Union means that the EC is aiming to become a federal state. They ask, in such circumstances, what the position of the Queen would be — an issue treaty supporters dismiss as a ridiculous irrelevance.

FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY

THE EC failure to follow an effective common policy in the two great tests of the past two years — Yugoslavia and the Gulf — is held up as the absurdity of promoting a "common" foreign and defence policy; others say it only highlights the need. Largely at Britain's insistence, both remain outside the framework of Community institutions, and would operate as an extension of present inter-governmental co-operation.

Common defence, the subject of intense wrangling between the French and the British during Maastricht negotiations, remains ill-defined, and depends on the Western European Union acting as some kind of bridge between Nato and the EC.

But the Danes in particular are still worried that this could mean that the twelve could vote to send Danish soldiers to fight in a war which Denmark and the Danish people do not approve of — something treaty advocates say is impossible under unanimous voting procedures.

SOCIAL POLICY

THIS was for Britain the most controversial part of Maastricht, and one on which it fought so hard that the entire area had to be left out of the main treaty. The Conservative government said any EC interference would limit a country's ability to create jobs and exploit its market conditions; the Labour party, however, insists the social chapter is crucial to social justice throughout the EC. In the end the other 11 agreed to harmonise their policies in a separate protocol, which made for social protection, dialogue between management and labour, working conditions, and a Commission role in promoting social dialogue.

NEW COMMUNITY POWERS

MAASTRICHT gives Brussels new competence in fields such as culture, education and training, public health and consumer protection, trans-European networks, research and social cohesion. More decisions will be made by majority voting. Treaty opponents say this will inevitably give an unelected bureaucracy ever greater control over more areas of British life — a charter for an interventionist Commission to increase its powers at the expense of Westminster. Supporters say Maastricht only tidies up existing rules, and makes it possible to take decisions in vital areas which cross national boundaries, such as the environment.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

STRASBOURG will be given more powers — to confirm the appointment of the president of the Commission, to amend or veto legislation, audit EC expenditure and investigate maladministration. But it will still not be able to introduce new legislation or have the final say. MEPs will still be the



poor relations of national parliaments, to the anger of the Germans and the delight of the British. Britain is also glad that Maastricht supports its proposal to give the European Court powers to fine member states not enforcing directives, thus penalising countries which do not carry out their promises while discouraging frivolous or impractical EC directives.

THIS crucial clause, which will be the focus of discussion and declarations at the Edinburgh summit, is dealt with in a brief paragraph. This states that in areas which do not fall under its executive jurisdiction, the Community "shall take action... only if and in so far as the

objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the member states and can therefore... be better achieved by the Community". The crucial question is: who shall define the word "better" — the Commission, or member states? Not only is the concept vague, but it is likely to lead to dozens of court challenges. In any case, opponents say, few people in the Brussels Commission are really ready to hand back powers to member states.

MAASTRICHT affirms the Community's readiness to open negotiations with new members. It also

includes a protocol on "cohesion" — the transfer of funds from the richer northern countries to the poorer southern states. Opponents say this will artificially rig market conditions and involve huge sums. Another conference must be called in 1996 to look at further reform of EC institutions. Supporters insist that this does not mean, as opponents claim, that there will be an automatic "conveyor belt" move to a tighter federal structure.

Even if all those voting last night had read the Maastricht treaty, few would have understood it. Nothing in it can be fully understood without reference to the two documents it amends: the 1957 treaty of Rome, which brought the Common Market into being, and the 1987 Single European Act, which laid the basis for the single market.

"Nobody out there has read it (the Maastricht treaty) — I have never read it"

— Kenneth Clarke

"A Europe built on the Danish 'no' and the French whistler is not a very durable one for the future of the Maastricht treaty"

— Tony Benn

"It would be reckless, perverse, bizarre for Europe's politicians to override the will of the European people to manage their own affairs"

— Lord Tebbit

"We don't need a United States of Europe. We need a Europe of united states with countries allowed to preserve their own national identities and cultures. The second message is don't go so fast"

— Kenneth Baker

"Our party could wreck itself over Europe, with consequences which would be deeply damaging to Britain. Let us decide to give that madness a miss"

— Douglas Hurd

"The treaty will hand over more powers to unelected bureaucrats and erode the freedoms of ordinary men and women in this country. No more declaration of subsidiarity is going to change the articles or the thrust of the treaty itself"

— Baroness Thatcher

"I prefer the rules of football. John Major prefers the rules of rugby"

— Jacques Delors at Maastricht

"There is a cultural difference between the continentals and the United Kingdom"

— Piet Dankert, Dutch foreign minister at Maastricht

"Mr Delors seems more interested in his own position in history than in European unity. He looks on himself as a prime minister among prime ministers, when in fact he is no more than a highly paid hack and a dangerous one at that"

— Sir Anthony Beaumont, former Conservative MP

"The Danes have saved our bacon"

— Christopher Gill, Tory MP, after the Danes rejected the treaty in a referendum in June

"Federalism is a word we can speak out loud — it is not a dirty word"

— Jacques Delors

"Why don't you just opt out?"

— President Mitterrand at Maastricht (to John Major)

"If the French people can decide Maastricht by a referendum, I see no reason why the British people should not have the same right"

— John Townend, Tory MP

Reading the debate's sub-text

PETER HOBBS

ORDINARY voters watching yesterday's Commons debate must have wondered what had taken hold of their representatives. Not only was the Commons at its most noisily self-absorbed, but there was no obvious reason why the debate was being held.

It was little to do with the terms of the government motion endorsing further progress on the bill ratifying the Maastricht treaty or the Labour amendment urging a delay for six weeks until after the European Community summit in Edinburgh in mid-December. As Betty Boothroyd, the Speaker, noted, further proceedings on the bill will not be affected by the outcome of the debate. Regardless of last night's vote, the committee stage could start at any time.

The debate was never about the timing of the committee stage but was about the erosion of the authority of the prime minister in the past six weeks. What was at stake was whether the unravelling of the standing of John Major since Black Wednesday would continue or be halted. There were even murmurs in the corridors and lobbies of Westminster that a government defeat might lead to the resignation of the prime minister. That was reflected in the frantic activity of the Tory whips over the past week, which has left both bruised and inflated egos, as well as expectations of future favours and rewards.

It is a measure of the failures and stumbles of the government since sterling's withdrawal from the exchange-rate mechanism on September 16 that the debate assumed such importance. Mr Major's loss of grip over his own party has maximised opposition rather than minimised dissent. As Seamus Mallon, of the Social and Liberal Democrats, wondered, how had a House majority for the treaty been whittled away into a potential minority?

The result was that each group had its own different motive and approach to yesterday's debate which turned into a hybrid of a vote of confidence and a vote on Europe. Hence the diehard Tory rebels could pretend that their votes



in no way undermined their faith in Mr Major remaining prime minister and might even benefit the government in the long-run. They were merely voting on the merits of the issue. Of course, the stakes were higher. Even at minimum, as Mr Major said, approval of the Labour amendment would mean a delay in the start of the committee stage and would seriously weaken Britain's negotiating position at the Edinburgh summit.

John Smith, the Labour leader, argued that the amendment did not undermine the party's commitment "to closer economic and political co-operation in Europe". He sounded as if he was trying to win a not proven verdict when he sought to justify a delay because of uncertainty over the Danish position. This Scottish advocate's approach was both pedantic and unconvincing. Labour's real case came in his stronger prearrangement. He said Labour would "vote against a govern-

ment who are wrecking our economy and undermining our society".

For Labour, the debate was a protest against the government's record as a whole, while seeking to capitalise on Tory divisions over Europe. Its aim was to embarrass the government rather than to defeat it.

Indeed, the Labour pro-Europeans were keen to show that the government could not be defeated by an alliance with Tory rebels. Hence in future the party should follow its previous line of not opposing ratification, while seeking to restore the social chapter.

One of the many paradoxes of yesterday's debate was that, for all the closeness of the vote, detailed consideration of the bill should now become much easier in the Commons if the Labour pro-Europeans do adopt a less hostile attitude in later votes.

The Liberal Democrats claimed to be voting on the merits of the issue, and so they were, even if the Tories and

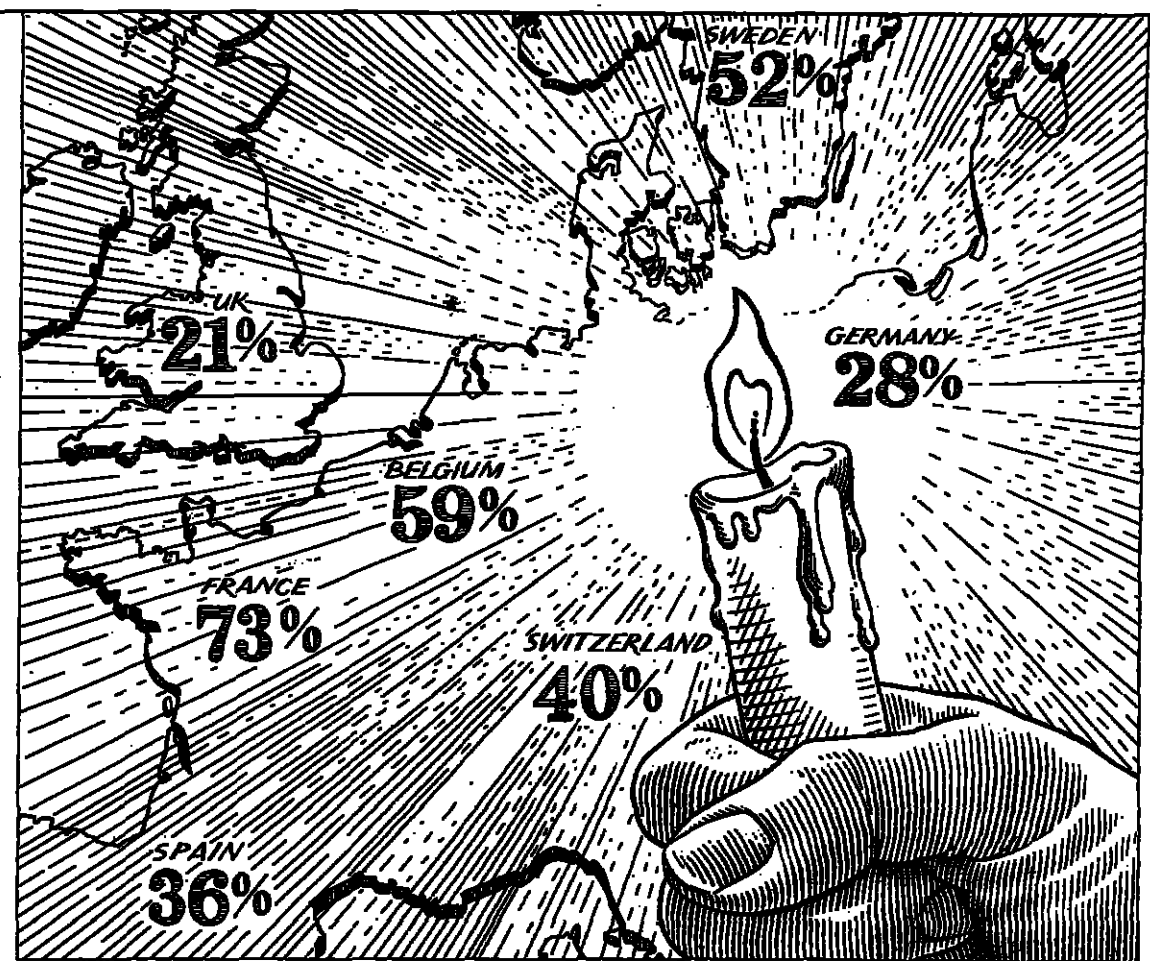
Labour had different motives. That provoked Mr Smith into a denunciation of "the naïveté and self-importance" of the Liberal Democrats. Self-righteous though Paddy Ashdown, the party leader, can sometimes sound, he at least made a strong and consistent case for an active British role in Europe. We will not hear much about Lib-Lab co-operation for some time now.

Mr Major appealed for support on the virtues of the Maastricht treaty and in order to maintain Britain's influence in Europe. There was no doubt about the seriousness of the vote for him and the government. It was not a fringe matter of timing. He gave an effective performance. If Mr Major is under strain now, he is not showing it when he appears in the Commons.

But yesterday's debate was about much more than the merits of Maastricht. It was about trying to rebuild his personal authority. After the recent defeats over the ERM and pit closures, and the continuing uncertainty over economic policy, losing last night's vote would have knocked away the central pillar of his foreign policy, leaving little else remaining. He needed a victory just to stabilise his position since he knew defeat would mean further criticism from within his own party, and a possibly fatal weakening of his authority.

But even victory would not be the end of the story for all the immediate euphoria. It might mark the turning point over the Maastricht treaty, even with further tedious battles ahead. But the government still faces severe tests over the economy, with the autumn statement only a week away.

In the background all week, has been the cabinet's continued discussions over public spending, which are straining ministers' public support for a tough fiscal policy. Even if accompanied by a further cut in interest rates, the Chancellor's statement is likely to provoke further public controversy and unrest among Tory MPs. The cabinet's resolve will be tested by the virtual pay freeze in the public sector and by cuts and squeezes on many programmes. The government has a long way to go to recover the self-confidence of the spring.



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'We are seeking to build a more secure Europe than any previous generation has known'

Maastricht waverers warned against sidelining Britain

By ROBERT MORGAN, PARLIAMENTARY STAFF

IF BRITAIN did not ratify the Maastricht treaty the country could not continue to make a success of its membership of the European Community. John Major told the Commons yesterday. Opening the critical debate on the "paving motion" on the bill to ratify the treaty, the prime minister stuck to his theme that it was in Britain's self-interest to stay at the centre of Europe and to ratify the treaty.

Britain, he said, would not be able to influence events from the sidelines. In an effort to swing over the waverers in the Tory party, Mr Major said that monetary policy would continue to be controlled by the British government and British citizenship would not be subsumed into European citizenship.

Nobody should kid themselves, he said, that without Maastricht there would be a Community without any of the problems posed by the Maastricht debate. They would instead have a Community fighting day by day, time and time again, all the battles which were fought and largely won in the treaty. "Anyone who believes that that situation of uncertainty would be good for political stability, business, growth and jobs would be deluding themselves. It would be a fatal

cocktail for the future interests of this country for we would have shrunk back from meeting the agreement we freely entered into."

At the Edinburgh summit in a few weeks' time there were matters to be agreed which were of crucial interest to the future of this country such as financial arrangements, the single market and enlargement. If the House did not endorse Maastricht it would diminish the government's capacity to negotiate successfully on matters "of our own national self-interest". He added: "Our European partners

This is my clear judgment. I would be doing the country a disservice if I did not back that judgment with all the force at my command.

That means that after this debate has been concluded and won by the government, we will bring back the bill and we will seek the support of members of this House to secure adoption of the bill. That is what is in our own national self-interest."

Earlier, Mr Major had spoken of the political and economic problems confronting nations around the globe.

MAJOR SPEECH

would not take our negotiating position seriously now or in the future and we would not be able to make agreements which are in our own national self-interest."

He understood the frustrations some felt at having to make compromises in defence of British interests. But he went on: "National self-interest is not about striking deals which are in our own interest."

Mr Major said: "We cannot continue to make a success of our membership of the Community unless we ratify the treaty we have entered into.

There was a "whirlwind of events" not seen for many decades, he said. It was against that background that they had to consider Britain's priorities in Europe.

The question was: "Are we or are we not in this country to play a central role in Europe's future development?"

The answer the House of Commons gave to that question was fundamental to the country's future wellbeing, economic and political. "I have no doubt about the answer to that question. The answer in our own national self-interest must be yes, we

will play a central part in the future of Europe."

There was only one way to bring about a "free trade, free market" Community, responsive to its citizens, as Britain wanted. That was by Britain playing "a full part in the Community, by arguing its case, forming alliances, by exercising its influence and authority, by persuading, pushing and fighting for its interests — and sometimes by digging our toes in and saying 'no' as we did with the social chapter and the single currency."

The most likely way for a centralised, federalist Europe to develop was if Britain had no influence in the Community, if Britain was sidelined and left to scowl in frustration, Mr Major said.

The treaty provided for "the lightest possible form of legislation, with maximum freedom for member states on how best to achieve the Community's objectives."

Mr Major said that the part of the Maastricht bill on subsidiarity would not be reached until after the Edinburgh summit. Labour's amendment calling for delay to the bill was a fraud. The amendment might usefully be called "a Napoleonic amendment" with the message "not tonight Josephine".



Smith: "How can a motion which attracted an election threat not be about the government's credibility?"

Labour leader puts confidence issue to fore in debate

By JOHN WINDER

He added: "Those are not the politics of principle, they are the politics of political expediency."

He said one of the greatest concerns was what had been called the "creeping competence" of the Community. The Maastricht treaty prevented that. Britain would continue to take decisions about economic policy and would remain free

to decide on whether to rejoin the European exchange-rate mechanism. It was too early to make a decision on a single currency. "This decision is too important to be an act of faith. It must also be an act of judgment, and that judgment cannot sensibly be made until we see the economic circumstances of the day," the prime minister said.

THE government motion to allow the Maastricht bill to proceed, on which the debate was based, was scorned by John Smith as the product of the internal machinations of the Conservative party.

He accused the Liberal Democrats of naivety and self-importance and said that they had been coaxed by the Conservatives.

Mr Smith, the leader of the Opposition, was moving the Labour party amendment suggesting that the government's conditions for proceeding with the Maastricht bill, as set out in September, could not be satisfied until the Edinburgh summit in mid-December. He said the government's economic policy had been blown to smithereens in the debate of black Wednesday.

Mr Smith said that the conditions Mr Major set out in September for proceeding with the bill had not yet been met. He was frequently interrupted by Conservatives, including the prime minister. Peter Thurnham (Bolton, North East, C) told Mr Smith: "The people of this country will never trust such an unprincipled wriggler as he is revealing himself to be."

Mr Smith replied that it was curious to believe that to vote against the government motion would be a vote against Europe. The motion did not mention the treaty. It was narrowly and carefully drafted and had more to do with Conservative party problems.

SMITH

Alan Beith, the Liberal Democrat economics spokesman, said the motion was narrow and unnecessary and the vote "neither here nor there". Mr Smith replied that Liberal Democrats had been coaxed by the Conservatives because they suffered from two great defects: naivety and self-importance.

After the activity of the past weeks, could anyone seriously believe that the motion was only about the timing of the next stage of the Maastricht bill? "How can a motion which attracted the threat of a general election not be about the credibility, competence and authority of the government?"

Michael Heseltine had warned that a government defeat would be followed by a policy vacuum: an awful prospect. (Labour laughter). That was a reality which already extended to the heart of government.

"An increasingly angry and bewildered nation is watching with astonishment and dismay as this government stumbles from one disaster to another," Mr Smith said. The government had never realised that economic success in the Community could only be achieved by building a strong economy based on manufacturing strength, on investment, skill development and government partnership with industry and commerce.

Gould's successor chosen

By JILL SHERMAN
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

RON Davies, the Labour MP for Caerphilly, was yesterday elected to the shadow cabinet, filling the place vacated by Bryan Gould, who resigned in September.

Mr Davies, Labour's agriculture spokesman, gained 125 votes in the second ballot for the vacancy, beating George Robertson, the party's spokesman on Europe, who got 88 votes.

Tony Banks and Clare Short dropped off the short list last week after they failed to poll enough votes between them in the first round to go forward to the next round of the ballot.

Although Mr Robertson was said to be John Smith's favoured candidate, Mr Davies was theoretically the front-runner having narrowly missed a shadow cabinet place in July.

Mr Smith is to postpone a decision on which portfolio to give Mr Davies "until things have settled down a bit". However, he may choose to give him the Welsh post, switching Ann Clwyd to the heritage job vacated by Mr Gould. Mrs Clwyd was never happy about being given the Welsh portfolio and it is argued that her broadcasting background stands her in good stead for heritage.

Mr Gould resigned on the eve of the party conference in Blackpool over the party's newly adopted pro-European policy.

Jobs bill brought forward

By ROSS TIEMAN
INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE government will today publish its long-delayed employment bill after an unexpected cabinet decision to address the thorny issue of maternity pay in a social services bill at a later date.

Government business managers surprised even employment department officials by finding space in the parliamentary timetable for a debate, probably as early as November 16.

Only last week, senior Whitehall sources were indicating that the bill was likely to be delayed until January. It was understood that ministers were wary of being seen to attack the power of the unions at a time when many of the economy's ills were being laid at the government's own door.

Frank Dobson, Labour's employment spokesman, suggested that Gillian Shepherd, the employment secretary, "does not know if she is coming or going". He added: "It is clear that she does not believe in the proposals she inherited from Michael Howard. Now it looks as though they are being railroaded through over her head."

The bill is expected to contain most of the measures proposed by Mr Howard in a green paper before the election. Unions fear that the bill will abolish wages councils, which set minimum pay levels for 2.5 million poorly paid workers.

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'The cost of one night of fun for Labour in Westminster is tens of thousands of lost jobs'

Opposition accused of opportunism in trying to delay treaty

By ARTHUR LEATHLEY

PADDY Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, delivered a bitter attack on John Smith and Labour MPs accusing them of being led by "political opportunism" in voting against the Maastricht treaty.

During a speech which was constantly interrupted by Labour heckling, Mr Ashdown turned on Mr Smith for trying to make the vote an issue of confidence in the government.

"I believe the question is possibly the most important question we have addressed in years. It is about Britain's position in Europe and not about the government's position in Britain," he said.

He strongly defended his own party's decision to vote with the government and drew a parallel with its decision to support an equally

unpopular Conservative government on the vote to join the Common Market. "But that had brought electoral success for the Liberals because we stuck to our principles," he said.

A clear majority was in favour of ratification in the Commons, but Mr Ashdown was prepared to sweep it away by "rather discreditable opportunism".

Mr Smith intervened to accuse Mr Ashdown of "staying on a stage for a week" if the government won the election. It would say "stand up for all its policies and the Liberal Democrat leader would have to explain to the public why he had been cooped."

Mr Ashdown replied that there was an argument that by voting against the motion, the government would be damaged. "The question that we must answer is whether you will damage the country more."

It will inflict much greater damage on our country if that motion is lost tonight. If the government were defeated, there would simply be a vote of confidence on Thursday and the government would remain. "We will wake up on Friday without a general election" and without a future in Europe.

He attacked people who called for Britain to wait for Denmark to make its own decision on ratification of the treaty, and added that he could not imagine "a more demeaning attitude" for Britain than hiding behind the skirts of the Danes.

The only question to be answered was whether it was in Britain's best interests to ratify the treaty. The Labour party, through its amendment asking for the bill to be delayed until after December's Edinburgh summit, had changed the "towering" issue of Europe into "an opportunity for the Labour party to sit on the fence for another six weeks."

Speaking against a growing cacophony of Labour shouts and protests, Mr Ashdown said that during the delay Labour wanted to inflict on the "big severe damage" would be done to the respect in which Britain was held abroad. The delay would placate British negotiators with the rest of the Community.

Delay would lead to considerably more damage being done to the economy, and the uncertainty which was one of the prime reasons why the government was being asked to "look off" by burning "Doris dummies" on Guy Fawkes night.

Sir Edward's attack centred on *The Sun*'s recent demand for readers to tell M Delors to "look off" by burning "Doris dummies" on Guy Fawkes night.

would be more jobs lost and a deepening recession. "The cost of one night of fun at Westminster for the Labour party is tens of thousands of lost jobs in Britain as a consequence."

Of course the economy was in a mess and the government was culpable, but there was one certain way to make the mess worse, to cost more people more jobs, and that was for the Maastricht process to be delayed.

Shouting to make himself heard above Labour protests, Mr Ashdown said: "We will not vote for the government. We will vote for Britain's future in Europe."

"We will not vote for the prime minister. We will vote to save jobs and get the economy going again within the only context that makes that possible."



Calling the shots: Michael Spicer, one of the Euro-sceptic ringleaders, rounds up support yesterday

Role in Europe at risk

BRITAIN'S role in Europe would be threatened if the government was defeated or the Maastricht bill subsequently lost, Paul Channon (Southend W), a former Tory minister, said. The country could not play an effective part in the EC if it did not "sign up to what we have negotiated".

Bryan Gould (Dagenham, Lab), said the debate had little to do with the issue of Maastricht but everything to do with bolstering the flagging fortunes of a prime minister. He disputed Mr Major's claim that Maastricht was a decentralising treaty, saying: "The treaty is clear and it establishes a European union of which henceforth we are all to be citizens."

Tim Renton (Mid Sussex, C), urged Labour supporters of the treaty to "find a good reason not to be here" for the vote. "I believe that this is a case where the wisdom of Denis Healey turning up late after a good dinner in order not to vote in an embarrassing way is something they could all practice with benefit."

Rebels urged to toe line

SIR Edward Heath, the former prime minister who took Britain into the EC, last night made an impassioned plea to anti-Maastricht Conservatives not to destroy the government.

Without specifically referring to the vote as one of confidence, Sir Edward made clear that a Tory rebellion against the government on such an important issue would be unprecedented in his 40-year career as a politician.

"I cannot recall any episode in which those with a different view were prepared to endanger the life

of their government. I don't believe it is right for them tonight to endanger it in any way."

He condemned a campaign by *The Sun* newspaper against Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, as "sordid, filthy and unworthy". He told MPs: "It makes me ashamed to be in a country in which it is published."

Sir Edward's attack centred on *The Sun*'s recent demand for readers to tell M Delors to "look off" by burning "Doris dummies" on Guy Fawkes night.

Recovery package hopes played down

By JILL SHERMAN, POLITICAL COMMENTATOR

THE Treasury was yesterday trying to dampen down expectations about the recovery package to be announced with the Autumn Statement next week as spending ministers prepared their final defence against spending cuts.

The package, trailed by John Major when he addressed the Tory backbench 1922 committee last Thursday, is said to be self-financing and largely centres on measures to boost private sector investment through changing Treasury rules and encouraging joint ventures.

There is expected to be some gesture towards releasing capital receipts held by local authorities and a boost to the housing market, but the Treasury seems to have been bounced by the time minister into presenting a "package of goodies" for the economy to balance announcements of cuts and a pay freeze.

The measures include ideas which have been under discussion since the party conference in October. The recovery package could be funded by higher taxes. Treasury sources made clear yesterday that the main boost for recovery would come from the Chancellor's underlying economic policy.

One Westminster source pointed out that the 2 per cent cut in interest rates in the past two months would only now be making an impact in lower mortgage payments.

Ministers were yesterday finalising their presentations for today's cabinet meeting on public spending. Although several departments have now



Bottomley: rejected the scale of planned cuts

seated, it is said that four spending ministers are still holding out for extra cash.

Peter Lilley, the social security secretary, Michael Howard, environment secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, defence secretary and Virginia Bottomley, health secretary will not accept the scale of cuts in their planned budgets. Mr Lilley is said to have fought off the more "bald" plans to cut benefit spending proposed by the Treasury, but less-than-inflation rises in some benefits are still expected.

A freeze on the public sector pay bill is now expected in order to protect capital projects, though no final decision has been taken.

Although ministers threw out the package of cuts proposed by the EDX committee last Thursday, Treasury sources predicted yesterday that the basic framework would be accepted by the end of this week.

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Woolwich lets parents save youngsters from debt trap

■ One of the biggest building societies is inviting parents to save their children from the miseries of negative equity — but will the ploy boost house prices?

By Rachel Kelly, Property Correspondent

PEOPLE in the housing debt trap could be rescued by their parents under a scheme launched yesterday by the Woolwich building society, the country's third largest lender.

More than a million families owe more than the value of their home and cannot move without paying off the debt. Thousands fall into the trap every month as house prices continue to fall. They fell by 1.2 per cent last month and by 8.7 per cent over the past year, according to a Halifax index yesterday.

In the Woolwich Parent Line scheme, parents would offer their homes as temporary security for a proportion of the child's new mortgage. The fresh loan would include the debt from the child's previous house, enabling a move.

The young borrower would be responsible for repayments on that part of the loan secured on both their own and their parents' properties. When house prices picked up, the security could go back to the child's house.

The Nationwide, the second largest lender, said that it was working on a similar scheme. The Woolwich estimates that its scheme could help 5,000 of its 500,000 borrowers. Adrian Coles, of the Council of Mortgage Lenders, said: "This is the first example of a major lender bringing forward a full package to tackle the problem of negative equity. It's a proper scheme, fully worked out and very significant."

Lenders have been working out various schemes to deal with negative equity, but most

involved borrowers paying higher interest rates if they secured their debt on two properties. Borrowers who adopt the Woolwich scheme will pay its usual rates. There are also incentives: for example, the Woolwich is waiving the valuation fee for the parents' house.

James Barry, senior UK economist from Morgan Grenfell, said: "You do need parents with substantial equity, but I think it's a very clever way out of the problem. Parents do not have to shell out cash, nor do they have to get the money back from their children. The children will repay the building society. It's perfect for children who have the income to afford a bigger mortgage, but do not have the capital to pay off the debt."

John Wrigglesworth of UBS Phillips and Drew said: "This is totally innovative and very significant. It will free up thousands of people."

Though the scheme would help the housing market as a whole, Peter Robinson, managing director of the Woolwich, said: "There is a limit to what an individual lender or lenders generally can achieve. What is urgently required is government intervention to jolt the market into action."

Last month, the government allowed building societies to make unsecured loans up to £25,000 to help homebuyers in the debt trap to move. Lenders said that this would help only a few as repayment rates for unsecured loans are double those for mortgages.



Farewell to charms: one of Marc Bohan's designs for this year's collection; Norman Hartnell photographed in 1935; and Hartnell's showroom and machine room after yesterday's announcement

Queen's dressmaker Hartnell to close

By Liz Smith

SEAMSTRESSES in the Mayfair workrooms of Hartnell were still finishing orders for custom-made suits and evening dresses yesterday — but the struggle for the survival of London's most celebrated couture house is over.

Founded in 1923 by the late Sir Norman Hartnell, dressmaker to the Queen, the Queen Mother and other members of the royal family, the firm has gone into receivership.

The dowager fashion house had not been allowed to grow old gracefully after Sir Norman's death in 1979. With a dwindling clientele, whose most loyal members were Barbara Cartland and the

Queen Mother, it had fallen on hard times. In 1987 it was saved from the receivers by a consortium headed by Manny Silverman, the former managing director of Moss Bros, who spent more than £6 million in five years in an attempt to bring it into line with modern times.

Sir Norman's glass-panelled 1930s decor in the couture salon was lovingly restored. More importantly, the fashion image of the house was pepped up when Marc Bohan, designer at Dior in Paris for 30 years, was installed in the Hartnell design studios.

Last month, however, M Bohan left with a year of his £1 million three-year contract still to run. The collection he showed at Hartnell in July was predomi-

nantly in scarlet and tomato and was hailed as putting "Hartnell in the red".

Mr Silverman yesterday blamed the recession and the decline in the market for luxury goods for this final chapter in the fall of the house of Hartnell. "We started to rebuild it in better times, but we have had to struggle with relaunching during the Gulf conflict and battling with the recession ever since," he said. Recent talks with potential Japanese and American investors fell through. Staff, which in the Hartnell heyday in the 1950s rose to 300, had dwindled to 18 by yesterday.

Roger Harper, the receiver, said its future was unclear. "It looks like the end of the line as one door after another has closed," he said yesterday.

Lecturers' strike angers minister

A one-day pay strike by lecturers at the former polytechnics and colleges of higher education received "solid support" from several universities, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education said yesterday. Negotiations are deadlocked, with the union seeking 12.5 per cent and employers offering 3.9 per cent and a further 0.75 per cent for incentive payments.

Baroness Blatch, education minister, described the strike, part of a three-day campaign organised by five unions in protest at funding levels in higher education, as deplorable. "It will bring no benefit to the lecturers and will be highly disruptive to the studies of their students," she said. The Association of University Teachers is to lobby Parliament today, demanding an independent system to decide pay. Photograph, page 24

Piggott leaves hospital

Lester Piggott has been discharged from Hollywood Memorial Hospital, Miami, where he was taken on Saturday after falling from a horse during the Breeders' Cup championships. Piggott, 57 today, fractured a collarbone and two ribs and suffered bruising around his right eye when his mount, Mr Brooks, fell during a sprint race. The horse, which broke a leg, was destroyed. It was understood last night that Piggott intended to stay in Florida for a few days before returning to Britain.

Jury clears barn man

A third man has been cleared of killing teenage twin sisters in a barn fire. A jury at Bristol Crown Court cleared David Harper, 21, of Usington, Gloucestershire, of the manslaughter of Rebecca and Emma Harper, both 17, of Cheltenham, to whom he was not related. The prosecution claimed the girls were taken by Mr Harper and two friends to the barn for sex and died after matches were struck. Mr Harper had already been cleared of an arson charge and his two co-defendants of both charges, which all three denied.

Court backs wife's plea

An Asian woman who says she was emotionally blackmailed into an arranged marriage was given permission yesterday to seek a legal annulment. Lord Sutherland said in a written judgment at the Court of Session in Edinburgh that Shamshad Mahmood could proceed with her case. It is expected to be heard in the new year. Mrs Mahmood, 26, says she was forced into the marriage in 1988 when her parents threatened to disown her, evict her from their house and turn the Pakistani community against her.

Lawyers support bill

A law to protect people with disabilities from discrimination on the lines of existing laws banning sex and race discrimination was urged yesterday by the Law Society's employment law committee. It said that the civil rights (disabled persons) bill, which received its third reading in the Lords yesterday, could form the basis of the new act. Philip Williams, committee chairman, said: "People with disabilities face particular problems in finding and keeping work. The existing law has failed."

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New failings force 999 staff to ditch computers

■ The London Ambulance Service has reverted to manual control as management and unions await details of an enquiry into the computer failure

By TIM JONES

BRITAIN'S biggest ambulance service, covering London, yesterday reverted to full manual control after another failure in its computer system forced senior management to concede it could not cope with the task.

As executives from the London Ambulance Service admitted its £1.5 million computer, installed by a Hampshire company, was incapable of coping, Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, was studying a confidential letter from a computer consultancy which alleges that its warnings of the inadequacy of the system had been ignored.

Mr. Ian Lund, the managing partner of York-based ISL Consultancy Services, specialising in the emergency services, claims in the letter that tenders for the computer contract from experienced providers of command and control systems were ignored in favour of the lowest bid.

Martin Gorham, the acting chief executive of the London Ambulance Service, said control room staff noticed early yesterday that the system response was slowing and had instigated computer back-up procedures which failed to solve the problem. Because of the faults, there was a 25-minute delay in dispatching one ambulance.

The decision to abandon the computer system, which was supposed to improve the service, came ten days after John Wilby, 51, the chief executive of the service, resigned following union allegations that a breakdown could have contributed to the loss of 20 lives. Yesterday, Mr Gorham said the service would not go back to using the computer until all the problems had been solved. The failure of the system will lend additional urgency to the independent enquiry into the way the ambulance service handles emergency and other messages.

Mr Gorham said yesterday's difficulties with the computer happened when demand was low and were not as a result of operational congestion, as on the previous occasion. "Since the problems with the computer system at the beginning of last week, the LAS has been operating extra back-up systems, including paper duplicates and voice confirmation to crews," he said. "In addition, the staffing of the control room has been significantly increased. As a result of these measures, call answering times have substantially improved, leading to greater efficiency in allocating ambulances."

Chris Humphreys, the London officer for Nupe, the ambulance staff union, said: "We did warn last week that even with partial use the system was not safe and events last night and this morning have unfortunately proved us right."

"We are happy that the manual system is the safest in the circumstances. I believe it will now have to operate for some time until everybody is satisfied."

The LAS has challenged Nupe to substantiate its claim that up to 20 people may have died because of the recent computer failure.

Cash plea on special teaching

By MATTHEW D'ANCONA
EDUCATION
CORRESPONDENT

COUNCILS must transform their relationship with schools to improve the education of pupils with special needs, the Audit Commission says in a management handbook today.

It estimates that £53 million is being spent on surplus staffing in special schools and says the money should be spent on pupils with special needs in mainstream schools.

Local education authorities should treat schools as contractors, accountable for the progress of a pupil with special educational needs, the commission says. Councils must monitor their special needs policies using objective indicators, issue statements detailing pupils' needs speedily, and rationalise provision of places in special schools.

The guide also urges councils to delegate funds for pupils with special needs without a formal statement, using their own registration system to speed payment.

A survey published by the commission in June found that some local authorities took more than three years to issue statements, rendering the process "virtually worthless".

Leading article, page 21

Koreans keep smiling through royal gloom

By ALAN HAMILTON IN LONDON
AND JOANNA PITMAN IN SEOUL

KOREANS are far too polite to say so, but an overseas tour by the Prince and Princess of Wales intended as a public relations drive for Britain and British exports has again descended into a microscopic examination of the couple's troubled marriage.

Yesterday the *Daily Mirror* advised the couple that, if they could not be bothered to put on a better show in public, they might as well give up. Coverage of the four-day tour in British newspapers has portrayed the couple as unrelentingly miserable and distant. The fact that many of the pictures were taken while they were visiting a war memorial is not always explained.

British tabloid reporters covering the tour have gone in for the kill, helped by the impending publication next week of an updated paperback edition of Andrew Morton's biography of the princess, which claims that, after the appearance of the original edition earlier this year, the Duke of Edinburgh wrote to her tearing her off a strip for her behaviour.

One of the tabloid reporters covering the tour told *The Times* last night: "Diana is using the press again; it is a return of the summer. She is looking deliberately unhappy looking at the cameras as she knows she is popular, and she badly wants to remain Prin-

cess of Wales. But she wants to do it on her own. Charles has been completely marginalised, and she is quite happy about that."

Reports in some newspapers that the princess was dragged kicking and screaming to Korea against her will, on the express orders of the Queen, are unsubstantiated by Buckingham Palace or any other vaguely reliable source. The princess seemed at last in her element yesterday, given that it was the day for fulfilling engagements on her own. During visits to a welfare centre and to the Salvation Army, she looked happy and relaxed, and smiled in the direction of the tabloid pack that had spent the past 72 hours calibrating the extent to which she does or does not smile.

The prince spent another day beating the drum for British exports. He opened a "Britain for Korea" fair, joined a business leaders' forum to discuss the environment and promote British environment-related technology, and visited the national wool textile exports exhibition. Last night, the couple attended a Scottish Ballet performance of *Coppelia*.

The princess will return home alone today, while the prince proceeds to Hong Kong for Armistice Day celebrations.

Letters, page 21



Old acquaintances: Richard Gere in front of a brass statue of Tsong Khapa, an eighteenth century lama

Film star embraces ancient art of Tibet

By ALISON ROBERTS, ARTS REPORTER

RICHARD Gere sauntered into the Royal Academy in London yesterday, took off his dark glasses and leather jacket like a true film star and embraced a young Tibetan monk standing in the foyer.

Gere, prized asset of both Hollywood and Tibet, was in London to revisit the exhibition of sacred art that he helped to set up in San Francisco four years ago. The project was not without difficulties, both political and logistic, but his dedication to the Tibetan cause eventually won over a cautious American art establishment.

"The first idea I had in 1987 was to start a museum show and that would be the focus of allied, more political activity," he said.

"We withstood enormous pressure getting this put on, but we thought political work would be easier around such beautiful, inviting objects. It's also important to understand what we are trying to save; these are real people with a real, extraordinary culture."

Gere knows well the exhibition of *tangka* paintings and

bronze sculpture. *Wisdom and Compassion, the sacred art of Tibet* moved to London, where it is sponsored by *The Times*, from New York in mid-September. It was opened by the Dalai Lama in San Francisco and attracted a record number of visitors.

Gere's philosophy is similar to that of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual and political leader. "It's not just Buddhism, it is an orientation of service and altruism which, I think, is probably the only way we can be happy on this planet," he said.

Yesterday, a trio of Tibetan monks were creating two sand *mandalas*, large geometric shapes representing the Buddha's perfect environment. Gere nervously took up the metal instruments used gently to tap coloured sand into place, bringing laughter from the monks.

A private tour of the exhibition, guided by Gennadi Leonov, exhibition consultant to the Royal Academy, rounded off the visit and Gere left Burlington House to be a humble, multi-million dollar film star again.

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King's Cross fireman awarded £147,000 for trauma injuries

By KATE ALDERSON

A FIREMAN who received bravery awards for fighting the King's Cross fire disaster in 1987 was yesterday awarded £147,000 damages in the High Court, one of the highest awards for a sufferer of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Paul Hale, 44, of Minster, Kent, was described by Mr Justice Otton as "probably the most courageous man I shall ever have the privilege to meet". The judge said that Mr Hale's devotion to duty went beyond what could have been expected of anyone on that "fateful evening".

Damages were awarded against London Underground Limited which admitted liability for Mr Hale's condition but disputed the amount of damages.

Mr Hale, who was based at Soho fire station, was one of the first fire fighters to arrive at King's Cross. He braved the fire half a dozen times and retrieved six bodies. During the rescue he crawled out of the blaze for more oxygen and returned again to rescue people, in spite of hearing of the death of Colin Townsley, his station officer.

Devastated by his experiences and the death of Mr Townsley, he suffered nightmares and depression during which time his wife Jeanette and their three teenage children considered leaving him. The judge said that while

Mr Hale suffered only minor burns to his wrists and neck, doctors said his main injury was psychological and the "shattering" experience had left him with post-traumatic stress disorder. Mr Hale had suffered a personality change which made him irritable and difficult to tolerate.

Mr Hale told the court that his ordeal had left him "ratty, unbearable, short-tempered and not caring about anybody". In his nightmares he had visions of the dead as skeletons and saw the disfigured shape of Mr Townsley at his desk. Mr Hale won the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct, the Chief Fire Officer's Commendation and the Silver Cross for Gallantry from the Scout Association.

After the disaster, he had to

give up fire fighting. He works in the fire prevention service but has been on sick leave for many months. Although promoted this year to station officer he feels that this desk job is second best to fire fighting and fears that he may never return to the job.

After the verdict, he said: "It has taken a long time to get justice but the compensation will give financial security to my family and give us sufficient breathing space to try and rebuild our lives."

The London Fire Brigade Union said yesterday that it was pleased with the award but said it would rather have seen Mr Hale as a fully operational fire fighter.

Neil Garrie, head of London Underground's corporate affairs, said that contesting the case was unavoidable because much of the evidence in court had not been available before. He added: "We wish Mr Hale all the very best for the future."

Andrew Dismore, Mr Hale's solicitor, condemned London Underground's decision to fight the claim. "Although admitting liability they denied throughout that there was anything seriously wrong with him, and offered only £45,000. But a judge rejected their medical evidence. The stresses of coming to court have undoubtedly added to his problems."

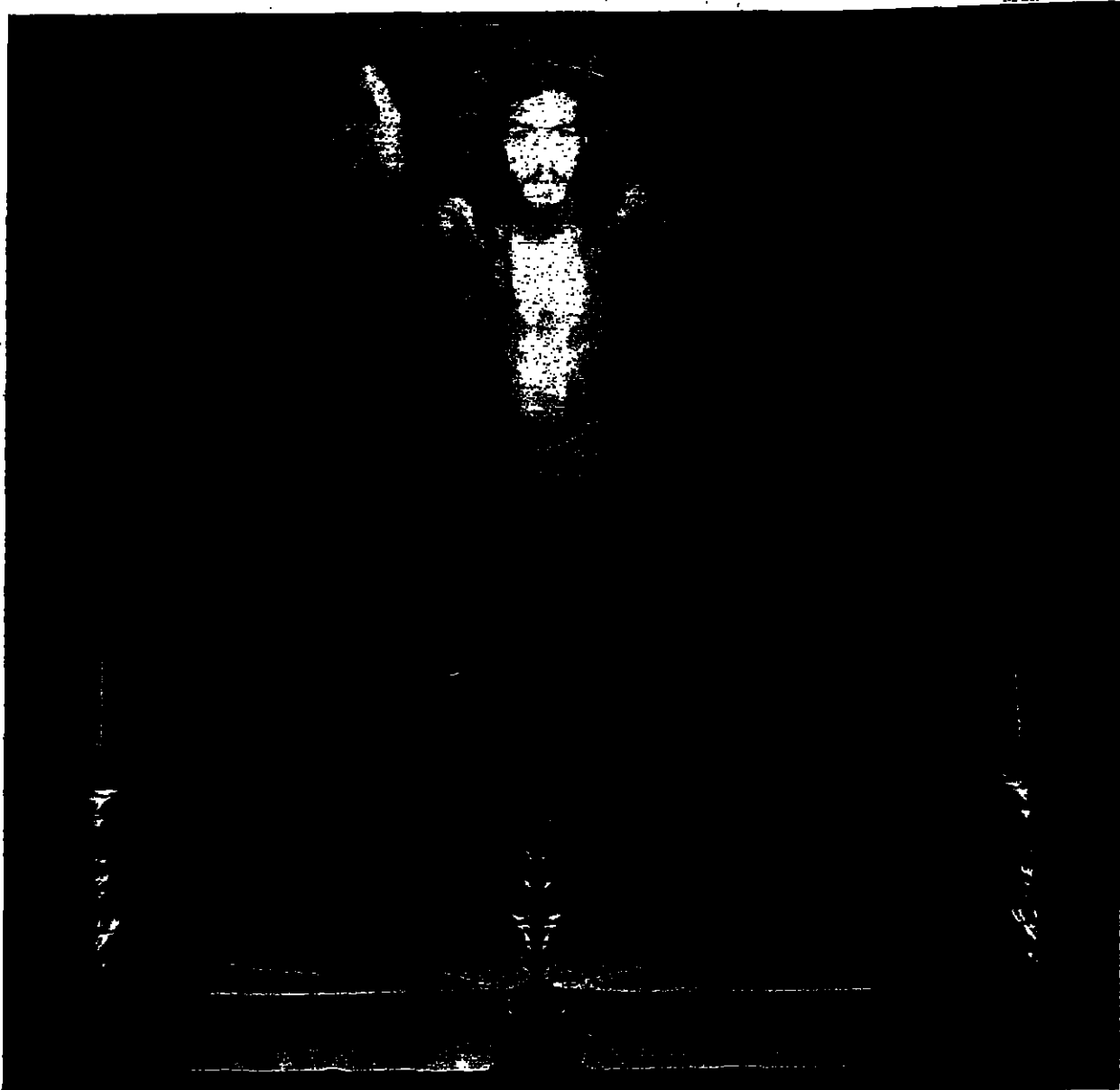


Hale: "A long time to get justice"

Artist's image of Christ splits congregation

MARTIN BEDDALL

By SARAH JANE CHECKLAND



Jesus Christ Superstar: the life-size hologram by Alexander on display at St James's church, Piccadilly

A LIFE-SIZE hologram of Christ in a central London church has split the congregation. According to Donald Reeves, the vicar of St James's, Piccadilly, who is known for his courageous support of the arts, some regard it as "quite powerful" and others find it weird.

Personally, he had reservations about Christ's emaciated body, and said his outsize, extended hands were "frightening". He also regretted that the image looks so "hippy".

The hologram is the work of the British-born artist Alexander. He believes that the compassionate expression on the face gives it universal powers to move.

Alexander, 65, graduated at St Martin's school of art in central London 40 years ago and has lived for long periods in Australia and California. Now his work is the subject of the Alexander Festival in London.

From Tuesday, Alexander will put on the world's first holographic art film at the Museum of the Moving Image on the South Bank and an exhibition at the Cooling Gallery in Cork Street. Outside the gallery, passers-by will see a hologram of a skull surrounded by barbed wire and accompanied by a gun, entitled "Horror of War".

All this is memorable but, sceptics ask, is it art? Edward Lucie-Smith, the art critic, thinks so. Art, he said, "played an important part in the Renaissance because it communicated strongly to people". Alexander could reclaim the tradition.

Hendrix drummer loses case

Mitch Mitchell, the drummer in the 1960s rock band led by Jimi Hendrix, yesterday lost a High Court libel claim that he was portrayed as a racist in a biography of the part-black, part-Cherokee musician.

The jury decided after 40 minutes that Mr Mitchell, 46, of Rye, East Sussex, was not defamed by David Henderson's *The Life of Jimi Hendrix*. He faces costs estimated at £50,000 and left court with his girlfriend Diana Bonham-Carter, saying: "I am devastated."

He said he was considering an appeal. Mr Mitchell claimed he was accused of using racial slurs against Hendrix, who died aged 27 in 1970. Andrew Popplewell, for the publishers, Book Sales, said that the book attributed conflict between the men to the drummer's belief in his abilities, aggravated by their different backgrounds. "Hendrix was a poor black American. Mitchell was a privately educated middle-class white man."

Children found

A young mother was reunited with her children, aged two and four, who were abducted three months ago from her home in Peterborough, Cambridgeshire. Police found the children after raiding a house in Birmingham and arrested a man aged 29.

Body in car

The discovery in a Dartmoor lane of a burnt-out car containing a body has led police to issue an appeal for the vehicle's owner, Michael John Evans of Mutfley, Devon, whom they cannot trace. Dental records will be used to identify the severely burnt body.

Bouncing back

A baby thrown into the air when a car hit his pram has recovered from a coma without ill effect. Doctors say the 14-month Liverpool boy probably blacked out before hitting the ground and bounced harmlessly.

Crying wolf

Wolf-eyes — red headlight reflectors similar to Catseyes — are to be installed on woodland roads in Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, by the British Deer Society to scare deer away from traffic.

Mother sought

Police are searching for the mother of newly born twin girls whose bodies were found in the outside lavatory of an empty terrace house in Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire.

Steam radio

Railway buffs are tuning to 24-hour vintage steam train sounds broadcast as test transmissions by Wey Valley Radio, Hampshire, until it goes live on November 22.

UVF leader backs jailed man's cause

By EDWARD GORMAN, IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

A FORMER commander in the outlawed Ulster Volunteer Force claims in a documentary to be broadcast by Channel 4 this evening that the killer of a Roman Catholic man in Armagh in 1983 was one of his men, and not the former Ulster Defence Regiment soldier currently serving a life sentence for the murder.

The programme in the *Critical Eye* series, *Loyalty on the Line*, is Channel 4's first investigative documentary on Ulster since the investigation by Box Productions last year of claims of high level collusion between Loyalist paramilitaries and the RUC.

That broadcast eventually led to Channel 4 and Box paying a £75,000 fine for contempt of court after they had refused to reveal the identity of their main source in the Loyalist community. The documentary's researcher still faces a charge of perjury in connection with last year's programme.

Tonight's broadcast, which the RUC says it will examine carefully, uses an interview with the former UVF commander that is said to demon-

strate that Neil Latimer, one of the so-called UDR Four originally convicted of the murder of Adrian Carroll, could not have been his killer.

In July this year three of the soldiers had their convictions quashed by the Court of Appeal in Belfast. Latimer's conviction was upheld on the basis of identification evidence, his own admissions of guilt and the court's opinion that he lied in the witness box.

The UVF commander, who was interviewed but is not shown on screen, says Mr Carroll was killed by a UVF hit team. He says the unit was not based in Armagh but came from outside to commit the murder, which happened at lunchtime as Mr Carroll, 24, was returning home. He tells the programme that the real killer "is pretty well known by the security forces" and had been involved in many killings.

An RUC spokesman said the programme's claims were likely to be something they would have to follow up, although it would be wrong to comment before the programme was shown.

The way it isn't



"WHAT a beautiful child." These are the words which every parent wants to hear. My wife was walking around the supermarket with our little son Silas in her trolley when an elderly woman came up, beamed and said: "What a beautiful child!" My wife blushed politely and thanked the old lady, who continued to pour forth her lavish compliments. "What lovely hair! And hasn't she got a smashing smile! Are you a good boy, are you? I bet she is!"

The old lady moved on, and my wife continued her shopping with an uplifted heart. But five minutes later, at the end of an aisle, she came across the same old woman in conversation with

another family. This time, the old woman was talking to a child my wife was later to describe as one of the plainest she had ever set eyes on. "What a beautiful child!" the old lady was saying. "What lovely hair! And hasn't she got a smashing smile! Are you a good girl, are you? I bet she is!"

It reminded me of a time in Hatchard's ten years ago. I took *As I Lay Dying* by William Faulkner to the counter. "Faulkner! My favourite novelist!" said the assistant, as he took my change and placed the applauded work in a paper bag. Just as there is embarrassment to be suffered in buying a book too vulgar or risqué, so there is pride to be gained in buying a book which the bookseller regards so highly.

I went away feeling jubilant, as if I had pulled out the winning number in a raffle. But as I was leaving the shop, I overheard the assistant saying: "James Clavell! My favourite novelist!" to a suitably gratified gentleman in tweeds.

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Disconsolate exiles confront bleak destiny as they flee 'ethnic cleansing' into the jaws of winter

Cold and starving refugees swamp Bosnia aid teams

FROM RICHARD BRESTON
IN POSUJE, BOSNIA

CAMA Halaba had the hardened look of a woman accustomed to the deprivations of life. Her hair was unwashed, her denim skirt and grey jacket had not been changed in a week, and she casually ignored the incessant wailing of Elvir, her infant son.

All that mattered to her yesterday morning as she queued with other refugees at this border town near Croatia was that she would receive her daily ration of bread and tinned mackerel from the Red Cross and that by the evening she might find somewhere dry and warm for the night.

"I left my home in Jajce one week ago with my son and one bag of clothes," she said, describing her part in the exodus of 25,000 Muslims and Croats in the largest 'ethnic cleansing' operation yet mounted by the Serbs. Just before Jajce fell, she locked the door to her home, set off on foot through the woods, and emerged 48 hours later in the

A greater tragedy is looming. The world is shutting its doors to refugees, while winter is adding to the deprivations of war

town of Travnik, part of a desperate wave of humanity which has flooded all available resources.

"Now I am trying to get to Croatia and see my husband who was wounded five months ago and is in hospital at Zagreb, but they turned me back at the border," she said, hurriedly wiping away a tear as she checked a momentary lapse into self-pity.

The tale of her grim, six-day odyssey was recounted in an unemotional manner, part of her transformation from a young, middle-class mother into a tough new member of Bosnia's itinerant army. Certainly the story drew little interest from her fellow exiles at the shabby refugee camp in an abandoned school building where hundreds of homeless people have been stranded, after being turned back by

Croatian border guards. Fehro Ahmic, a miner, has been stuck at Posuje for three months with his wife and disabled daughter, unable to return home to Serb-controlled Doboj and forbidden from joining relatives in Croatia. "We are left to share destiny with the people around us," he said from his corner of the school's former gymnasium, where hundreds of refugees are crammed.

The situation is repeated across Bosnia where the homeless have occupied schools and factories in a rush to find shelter before the onset of winter. Aid agencies fear that the effects of the cold, the continuing war and the shortage of food and medicines could lead to an even greater humanitarian tragedy.

"They keep coming, but we just do not know where to put

them all," said Angelica Begic, the hard-pressed Red Cross official who can no longer find space for the homeless.

Some of her compatriots, however, are willing to offer accommodation, so long as rent is paid in advance. Others are less scrupulous and have found a lucrative business in selling the wretched displaced people false letters of transit into Croatia at 50 marks a piece.

"It's a bloody disgrace," said one Western aid worker. "Unless you have money to spend, no one wants to help you."

Despite appeals from the United Nations for countries to help absorb the homeless, their numbers are increasing far more rapidly than the world's ability or inclination to take them. That was clearly demonstrated this week when ten buses were turned back at the Croatian frontier.

Zagreb argues that it is already struggling to meet the demands of 700,000 refugees and displaced people, who have overwhelmed the meagre resources.



No hiding place: a Bosnian Muslim woman refugee from the town of Jajce cradling her baby grandson after being turned back from the Croatian border at Posuje

Serbs lift threat to peace talks

BY ALAN MCGREGOR
IN GENEVA AND
OUR FOREIGN STAFF

BOSNIAN Serbs have not carried out a threat to withdraw from the Geneva international conference on the former Yugoslavia. Radovan Karadzic, their leader, has also signed an accord providing for the immediate stationing of up to 40 United Nations military observers at six airports in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, including two in the Banja Luka region.

The deal will allow the monitoring of the security council's ban on flights over Bosnia by warring factions.

Fighting for the remaining handful of Muslim-held towns in Bosnia raged on yesterday despite the deployment of more UN peacekeepers and mediators' attempts to end seven months of war. Bosnian radio said Serb forces had stepped up their bombardment of Olovo, 25 miles north of Sarajevo, and had brought in more tanks and infantry.

UN pushes for deal on convoy safety

FROM MICHAEL EVANS IN ZAGREB

A FRESH attempt will be made today to persuade the commanders of the three factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina to guarantee freedom of movement for all United Nations vehicles and convoys.

The Croat and Muslim commanders have agreed, but so far the Serbs have insisted on reserving the right to stop and inspect any convoy passing through areas controlled by their forces. At a meeting in Zagreb today of the so-called mixed military group, General Ratko Mladic, the head of the Serb forces in Bosnia, is expected to maintain the tough line.

General Philippe Morillon, the French commander of the UN forces in Bosnia, has warned General Mladic that the humanitarian relief effort depends on total freedom of movement for the convoys. General Morillon, who is based in Sarajevo, has to pass through Serb, Croat and Muslim checkpoints whenever he visits the UN headquarters now being set up at Kiseljak, west of the Bosnian capital.

One of the biggest tests for the UN relief operation will come later today when a convoy tries to reach villages in Serb-held eastern Bosnia, near the border with Serbia, where no aid has been distributed "for more than 200 days". The convoy will start from Belgrade, picking up a military escort near Sarajevo.

General Morillon's headquarters said yesterday that

thousands of refugees were wandering around in the woods in eastern Bosnia without food and proper clothing. Previous attempts to deliver aid to that part of Bosnia have been blocked by the Serbs.

The general has suggested that inspection points should be set up along the routes from Belgrade, Zagreb and Split, where UN convoys could be checked by liaison officers from the three factions. A spokesman said: "They could inspect the loading and verify the cargo manifest, and that would help to build confidence." The convoys would then be left alone to reach their destinations. But there has been no agreement so far to implement the proposal.

There is particular concern over the convoy route that runs from Split eastwards along the Dalmatian coast to Ploce and then north to Mostar and Sarajevo. Convoys are being hampered constantly by the fighting around Mostar.

In Zagreb yesterday, Cedric Thornberry, the UN director of civil affairs in the city, said more troops would be needed if the security council were to expand the mandate in Bosnia to provide temporary camps for the thousands of refugees who are fleeing the war zones and unable to cross the border into Croatia.

The frontier points have all been closed to the refugees unless they can provide evidence that they have relations living in Croatia.

Lorry auction marks drive to free market

FROM BRUCE CLARK IN NIZHNY NOVGOROD

On the face of it, a heroic chapter in Russia's long march away from socialism was written in the city last weekend.

Under the beneficent gaze of Boris Nemtsov, 32, the city's governor and a golden boy of Russian reform, hundreds of potential entrepreneurs packed the city's pre-revolutionary market place and bid energetically for rickety old lorries. That might not seem sufficiently momentous to justify the presence of senior American diplomats and a gaggle of bureaucrats from the International Finance Corporation. But one has to have lived in Russia to realise how the state monopoly on road haulage contributes to stalling up the economy.

The weekend sale saw the "unbundling" of the state body which accounted for 90 per cent of haulage around Nizhny Novgorod (formerly Gorky) into 42 private companies. About 1,200 of the monopoly's 8,000 lorries were auctioned individually to the highest bidder, with prices ranging from 110,000 roubles (about £200) to ten times more.

Although the heads of the haulage monopoly had threatened to block Mr Nemtsov's privatisation plans with a strike, he stood his ground. Inevitably, there were grumbles that

the auction was rigged by racketeers — a standard argument against any privatisation sale in Russia. But on balance, Mr Nemtsov must be credited for an exemplary exercise.

Mr Nemtsov and his adviser, Grigori Yavlinsky, have been using the publicity surrounding their pioneering reforms in Nizhny Novgorod to promote their view of Russia's wider crisis, which is that economic reforms will not work until political instability. They believe that President Yeltsin must strike a reasonable compromise with the hardline legislature for the sake of social peace.

However, Mr Yeltsin's plans for tackling the hardline challenge involve a deal with regional bosses, who are less progressive, and not with the bright young Nemtsovs. The regional bosses are among the few allies he has cultivated in his attempt to fend off the attack which the hardliners are planning at next month's Congress of People's Deputies.

Devolving some power to the regions and then using them as a counterweight to the Moscow hardliners is a high-risk strategy. Mikhail Gorbachev, the former president, attempted it when he tried to stop the union from collapsing. It bought him time, but ended in tears.

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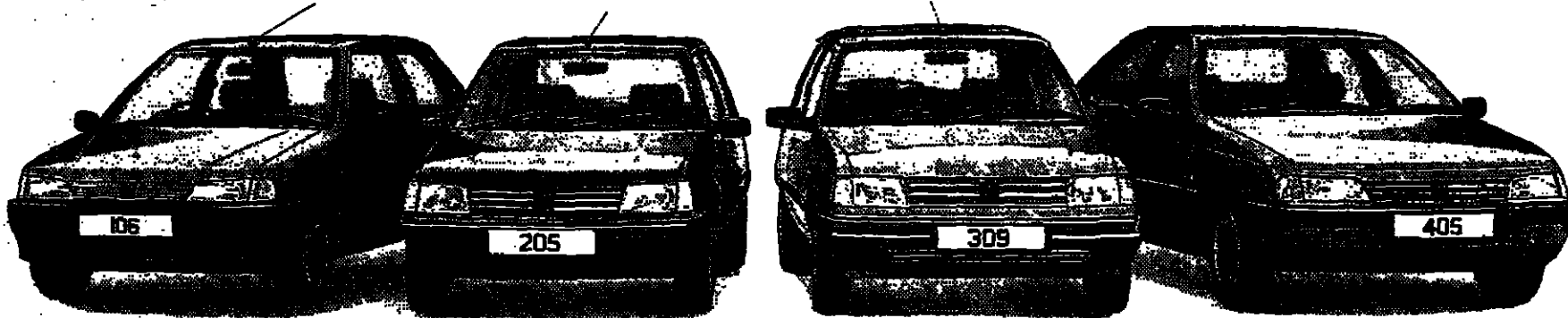
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A WORLD OF COMFORT

Tehran cr
anti-U S
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الخطوط الجوية اليابانية

Tehran crowd chants anti-US slogans as American 'spy' is held

By DAVID WATTS IN LONDON AND MICHAEL THEODOULOU IN NICOSIA

AMERICA'S past appeared to be coming back to haunt President-elect Bill Clinton within hours of his victory yesterday when Iranians poured into the streets of Tehran on the 13th anniversary of the takeover of the US embassy shouting "Death to America" and a United States citizen was held on spying charges.

The nightmare is a real one for a Democratic incumbent whose predecessor, Jimmy Carter, saw his tenure undermined and ultimately destroyed, at least in part, through an America rendered impotent in foreign affairs throughout the 444 days its diplomats were held bound and blindfolded in the embassy in Tehran.

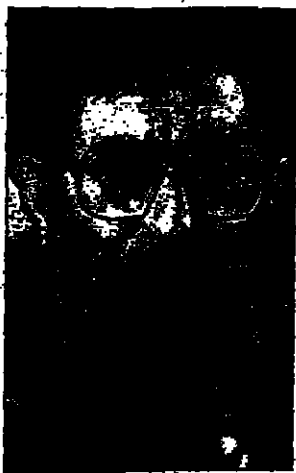
At the centre of the sudden, savage deterioration in relations is Milton Meyer, a soft-spoken 58-year-old travel agent who has always appeared unaware of his potential vulnerability. He has lived for a long time in the Iranian capital, is married to an Iranian and is a familiar figure in the expatriate community in Tehran.

The charges against him, too, are familiar. According to the Iranian News Agency, the interior ministry accuses Mr Meyer of "contacts with intelligence agents... the illegal creation of several commercial firms... collecting important economic information and identifying leading elements at commercial institutions".

It also said that he had "received hundreds of thousands of dollars for information supplied to foreign companies".

Ominously for Mr Meyer, the agency reported that he is a brother-in-law of Nematollah Nasiri, chief of the hated Savak intelligence agency under the late Shah, who was executed after the 1979 Islamic revolution.

The American, who settled in Iran before the revolution, against the Shah, stayed on



Khamenei expects US hostility to continue

"under the pretext that his wife was Iranian", said the agency.

Mr Meyer is the first American to be arrested in Iran since John Patis in 1986, who served five years in jail on charges of spying for the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr Patis had spent 16 years installing telecommunications systems for the Iranian government.

Thousands of students and factory workers were reportedly ferried in by bus to burn American flags and chant "Death to America", "Death to Israel", and "Death to the Serbs" fighting Muslims in Bosnia.

"You know Bush has lost and Clinton won. What we have to say to the new administration is - 'Death to America'", a speaker told the rally, which marked the day in 1979 when Iranian students took over the embassy. Schoolchildren wearing headbands, carrying the same slogan took up the chant and burned the American flag and effigies of "Uncle Sam" only hours after Mr Clinton defeated President Bush.

"Between us and the United States there is infinite distance," the Speaker of the Iranian Majlis (parliament),

Ali Akbar Nateq Nuri, told the crowd. There was no possibility of compromise between the United States and Iran because of their diametrically opposed strategies, he declared. He said Washington was "at the root of all evil suffered by the world's Muslim community".

Condemning the deployment of an American nuclear submarine in the Gulf, the speaker said that Washington was "fanning tensions to reinforce their military presence" in the region.

The nuclear-powered submarine *Topeka* entered the Gulf on Monday night, ahead of the expected arrival of an Iranian submarine in the next few days on delivery from Russia.

The *Tehran Times*, in a leading article written before the conclusion of the presidential election in the United States, predicted that there would be little change in Washington's policy towards Iran.

"A desire for hegemony is so deep-rooted in the psyche of the American political establishment that the new president, even a Democrat, has no choice but to tread down the path recognised as the norm in traditional American foreign policy," it said.

"Our experience... during the past half a century has left us with no illusions about either Republican or Democratic administrations."

Hardline students refused to join the government-organised rally and were due to hold their own demonstration later.

The country's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, said meanwhile that the new American president would be bound to maintain "the hostility of the United States towards the leaders and people of Iran". Ayatollah Khamenei predicted that "the new president will waste no time in accusing other countries of violating human rights".



Burning hatred: Iranian demonstrators set fire to an American flag outside the former US embassy in Tehran yesterday, the thirteenth anniversary of the seizure of the building and staff who were held for 444 days

Village entrepreneur dishes up TV feast

FROM CHRISTOPHER THOMAS IN CHITYALA, ANDHRA PRADESH

A SATELLITE dish on the roof of Ram Mohan's television repair shop in the poor southern village of Chityala reveals the immense power of a revolution which is touching practically every corner of rural India.

He has hooked up 50 homes - some of them mud huts - within a half-mile radius so that families can watch, without understanding a word, the BBC news, Australian soap operas and a clutch of American comedies.

The foreign television invasion in India is sweeping into rural areas with astonishing speed. For the government, this is alarming news. It had assumed that its television propaganda monopoly would remain unchallenged in the

villages, where four-fifths of Indians live.

Satellite dishes are illegal, but tens of thousands are appearing across the country without anybody being prosecuted. The speed of the invasion has left the government without a policy to deal with it. It means TV censorship is dead, or at least irrelevant.

Mr Mohan says that there are 1,000 television sets in Chityala for a population of 15,000, all but a few of them secondhand black-and-white models usually bought with loans from moneylenders.

Bored by state-controlled propaganda and a ceaseless outpouring of drab cultural programmes, village India evidently enjoys the comparatively garish foreign offerings.

English words are quickly creeping into the vocabulary, confirming government fears about cultural contamination. Every young Indian knows what MTV is: the programme that shows girls.

Mr Mohan charges 100 rupees (£2.30) a month for a cable connection. That is within the reach of better-off people in the village. In some cases, several poorer families share the monthly fee and crowd into one house to watch television.

Mr Mohan's customers get Star Plus from Hong Kong, which supplies non-stop entertainment that seems to leave people agog. For the first time, poor people are seeing how the wealthy West lives: programmes such as

Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous are great favourites.

To the government's disgust, the satellite package being distributed around India also includes Urdu-language Pakistan television, which can be understood by hundreds of millions of Hindi-speaking Indians. For the first time, Pakistani propaganda is becoming available to the Indian masses.

Doordarshan, the Indian television station, has been trying to fend off the foreign invasion with a new format of Hindi films and entertainment programmes. It has been a flop, largely because the six-channel satellite package offered by entrepreneurs such as Mr Mohan includes a 24-hour Hindi film channel.

Westerners in Angola evacuated

Luanda: America, France and Britain evacuated nationals from the Angolan capital yesterday as a three-day truce continued to hold (Miles Bredin writes). But diplomats fear fighting between Unita rebels and the ruling MPLA, which devastated buildings in Luanda and left more than 1,000 dead, could resume at any moment.

Clashes are still continuing in the provinces, but hopes of a dialogue between the two sides grew after a Unita general said that Jonas Savimbi, the rebel leader, was prepared to hold talks in Luanda with the government.

Rawlings leads

Accra: Jerry Rawlings, the Ghanaian leader, took an early lead in the first presidential elections since he seized power in 1981. Results from 77 of the 200 constituencies gave him just over 52 per cent of the vote. (Reuters)

Lebanon plea

Beirut: The Lebanese government requested help from Syria and Cyprus to fight fires that are raging on many of the country's wooded mountain slopes, and described the fires as being "an environmental catastrophe". (AP)

Charter ended

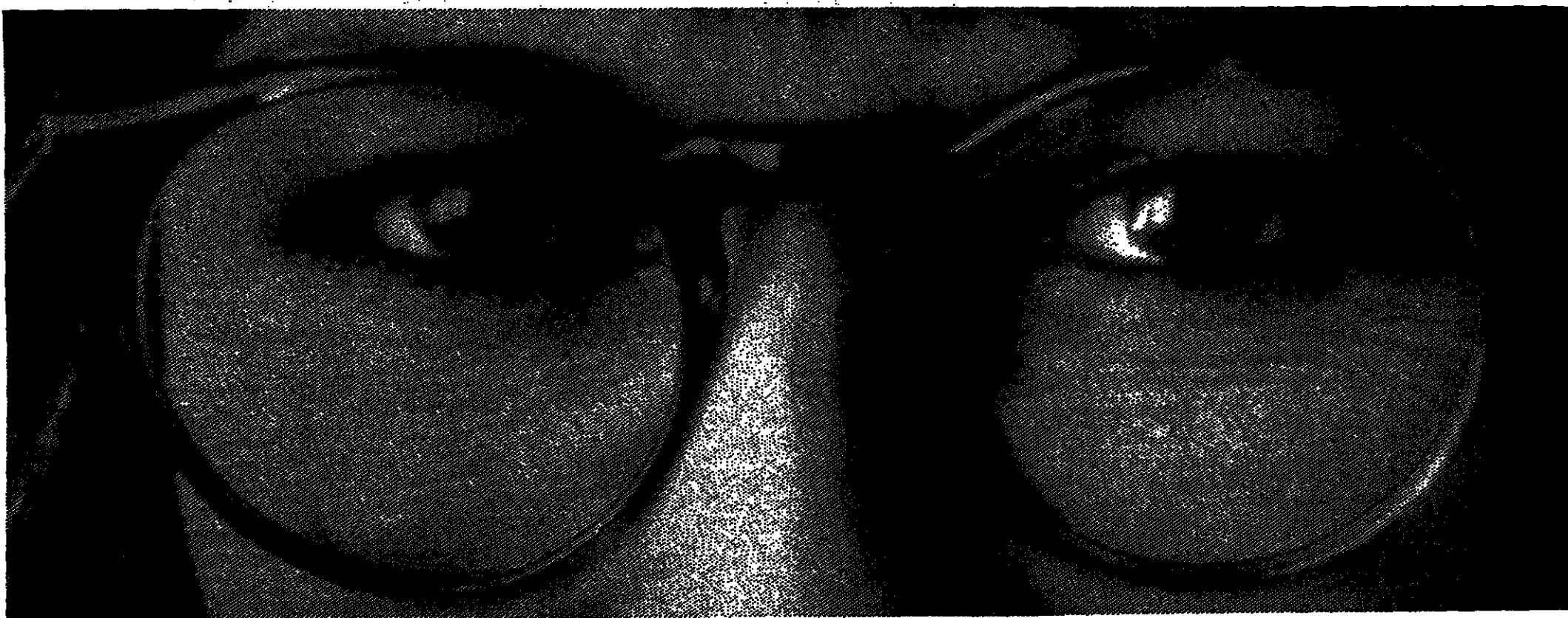
Prague: Charter 77, the human rights movement that helped to bring to an end four decades of communist rule in Czechoslovakia, ceased operations, saying that it had fulfilled its role.

Peking agenda

Peking: Parliament here has added to the agenda for its meeting on Saturday a debate on plans for democratisation in Hong Kong put forward by Chris Patten, the governor.

Premier named

Bucharest: President Iliescu of Romania has named as prime minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, 49, an economist experienced in market reforms.



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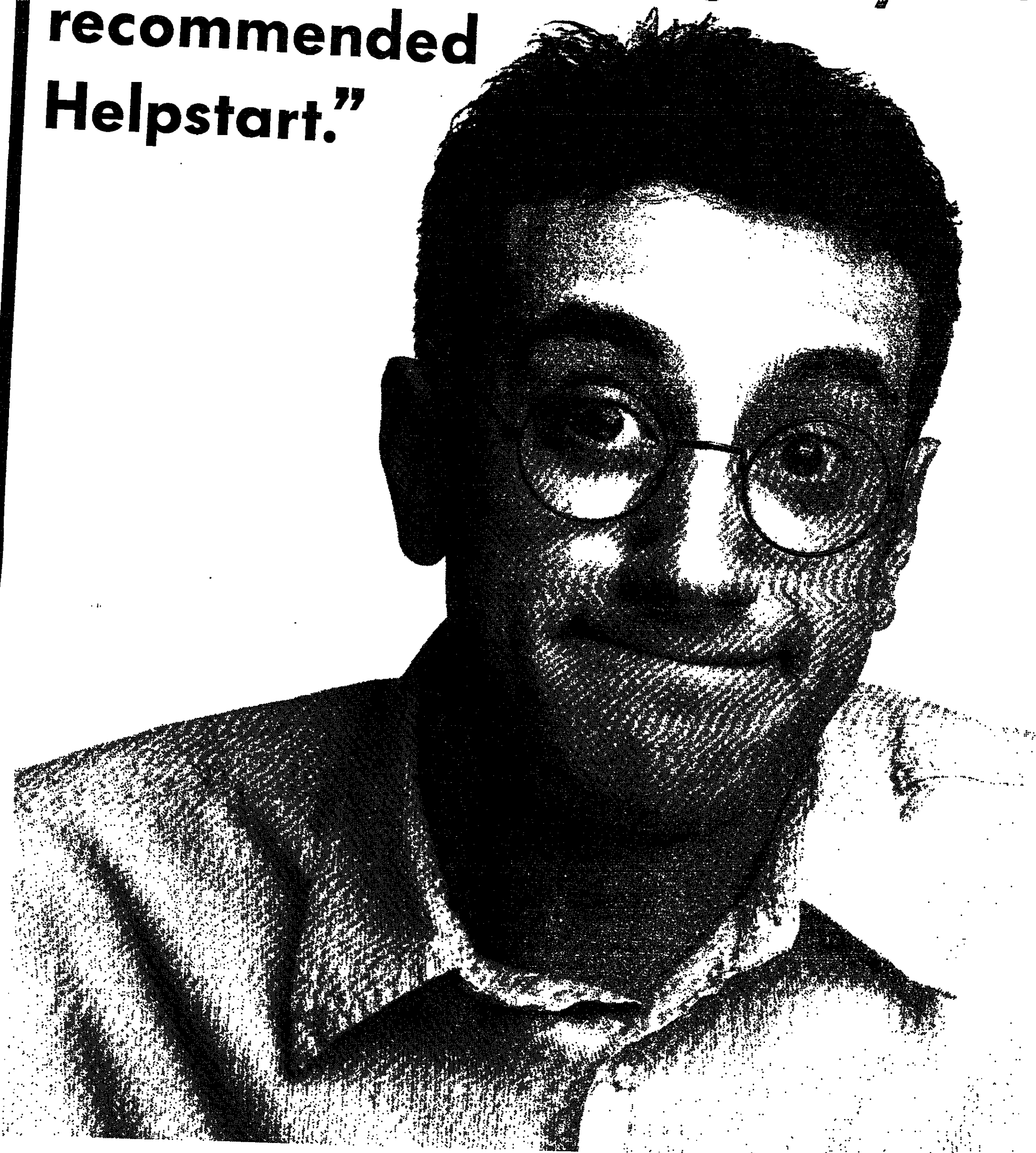
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West Coast ushers in era of Cagney and Lacey politics

FROM WILLIAM CASH IN LOS ANGELES

CALIFORNIA



Feinstein: making Senate history

THE runaway Senate victory of Dianne Feinstein and the narrow win of Barbara Boxer, her fellow Democrat, was hailed as a watershed in the fight for women's rights, marking a historic end to 1992 — the year of the woman. It is the first time a state has elected women to both senatorial seats.

Bill Clinton's prize of the state's 54 electoral votes and the joint female sweep of California's two Senate seats, which were being contested together for the first time in state history, gave the Democrats their most significant election victory in California for over 30 years. The state has been pivotal to Republican

victories in five of the past six presidential elections.

It was the biggest Democratic victory since 1958 when Edmund Brown was elected governor. California has not had two Democratic senators serving under a Democratic president since before the Civil War, when James Buchanan was in the White House.

"Tonight history is being made," said Dianne Feinstein in her acceptance speech. Ms Feinstein is a former San Francisco mayor who was defeated for the governorship of California in 1990 by Pete Wilson. Her victory was especially sweet as she easily beat Mr Wilson's old friend, the incumbent Republican sena-

tor, John Seymour, widely viewed as a symbol of Washington gridlock and an exponent of Bush-style economics. He was personally appointed by Mr Wilson after the latter resigned his Senate seat. Mr Seymour is seen as a victim of his own negative campaign against Ms Feinstein. He failed to establish a rapport with voters and until a few weeks ago 50 per cent of them had no idea who he was.

Ms Boxer had a harder fight and won a narrower victory over her opponent, Bruce Herschensohn, a 60-year-old conservative Republican. A widely respected television and radio commen-

tator, Mr Herschensohn used his media skills to gain nearly 22 per cent on Ms Boxer in a month. He made much of her misuse of congressional perks and for bouncing 142 cheques with the now defunct House Bank.

Ms Boxer's victory, on a platform of full abortion rights and \$150 billion (£96 billion) defence cuts, was helped over the final weekend by touring California with the widely popular Ms Feinstein. The team likened themselves to the television cop team *Cagney and Lacey*. In contrast the two Republican candidates rarely mentioned each other and campaigned alone, failing to

gain any momentum as a team.

Both Ms Boxer and Ms Feinstein are based in San Francisco, the first time since 1945 that both Senate seats have been taken by candidates based in northern California. Speaking in San Francisco after her victory, Ms Boxer said: "Once again California is on the cutting edge of history, sending two women to the US Senate. I am here to tell you that the American people have taken back their country."

Despite California's reputation for trend-setting, most of the controversial state propositions — in particular a measure that would have legalised euthanasia — were rejected. Mr Wilson's welfare and

budget initiative was also flatly rejected by the voters, a rebuff that is being regarded as a vote of no confidence in his administration.

A CNN poll found that more than 70 per cent of gays and lesbians who voted backed Mr Clinton. In West Hollywood several hundred gays and lesbians danced in the streets on Tuesday night, celebrating what they saw as a victory for minority rights.

But perhaps the most poignant sign of the changing times on Wednesday morning was a large cardboard film poster of Arnold Schwarzenegger in full battle gear ready for action. The poster read: "It's nothing personal. Terminate Bush: Judgment Day — November 3".



Schwarzenegger: Bush supporter ridiculed

New first lady leads way as women show voting power

FROM KATE MUIR AND MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

HILLARY Clinton is to become the first professional working woman in the White House, and women will be in the new Congress in force. Blacks and Hispanics were also elected to Congress in record numbers.

There is a paradox at the heart of the Hillary Clinton phenomenon: an intelligent professional woman was obliged, for electoral reasons, to take on the persona of the political wife. She cast adoring glances at her husband, she had her image "made over", she engaged in cookie-baking contests with Barbara Bush. But she embodies the fact that America's "Year of the Woman" has become more than a slogan.

The number of woman senators increased from two to six, four new Democrats joining the incumbents, one Republican and one Democrat. For the first time a black

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

election. It was the way women's votes, making them 54 per cent of the electorate, pushed victory solidly into Mr Clinton's reach — 47 per cent of women voted Democratic, compared with 41 per cent of men. President Bush won 37 per cent of male votes and 36 per cent of female, while Mr Perot was supported by 21 per cent of men but only 17 per cent of women.

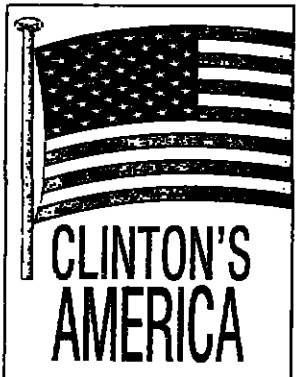
"The sound you just heard was shattering — the shattering of the glass ceiling for women," said Leslie Byrne, the newly-elected Virginia representative, in her victory speech to cheering Democrats. After her opponent doubted her chances because she was "just a mom in tennis shoes", Washington state's Patty Murray turned the phrase into a rallying cry and defeated Ron Chandler, the Republican, to the Senate.

Patricia Schroeder, a well-seasoned Democratic representative, said she expected women and other new arrivals would kick Washington out of its lassitude, and will want "something up on the scoreboard when they go home. It's like our own little perestroika."

Some of those who concentrated too much on women's issues and not enough on the country's main concern — the economy — were in for a shock. Lynn Yeakel, a Pennsylvania Democrat who had been beating incumbent Senator Arlen Specter in polls earlier in the year, found her campaign lacked both muscle and money. Mr Specter won, despite being notorious for his aggressive questioning of Anita Hill during the Clarence Thomas hearings.

On Mr Clinton's coattails the Democrats strengthened their hold on the Senate by one seat, restricted the Republicans to far fewer gains than they had hoped for in the House, and won eight out of 12 state governor's races, a net gain of two.

A notable winner in the 34 Senate seat elections was Colo-



rad's Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a former congressman of Cheyenne descent. He is the first American Indian senator since 1929. The three incumbents who lost were Terry Sanford, a North Carolina Democrat, and Republicans John Seymour of California and Robert Kasten of Wisconsin. The Democrats now have 58 Senators to the Republicans' 42, and the Republicans' only solace is that the Democrats did not obtain the 60 members they need to cut off the minority party's filibusters.

The new House will have about 47 women members, easily surpassing the present 28. The redrawing of congressional districts to ensure greater minority representation (see graphic) meant 38 blacks and 17 Hispanics were elected, gains of 13 and six respectively. Asian Americans won at least five of the record eight



Cheer leader: an elated Hillary Clinton, wife of the president-elect, reaching out to supporters during the victory celebration at the Old Statehouse in Little Rock, headquarters of the Arkansas administration

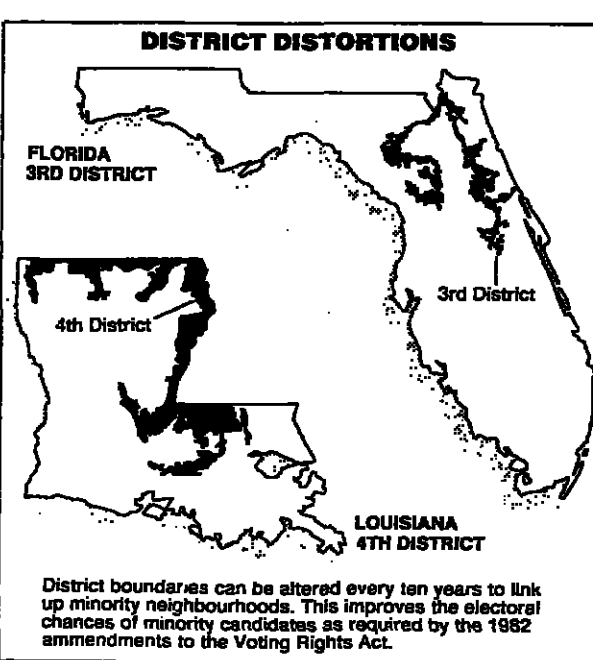
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House and Senate seats they contested, Jay Kim of California became the first Korean-born American to be elected to the House, and Nydia Velázquez of New York its first Puerto Rican.

The new members will include Florida's Alcee Hastings, a black who Congress stripped of his judgeship in 1989, and Bobby Rush of Chicago, a former Black Panther. Virginia, Florida, Alabama and the two Carolinas elected their first blacks since the 1800s.

"This is clear evidence of the enhanced power and political influence of African Americans," said Edolphus Towns, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. Raul Yzaguirre, president of a leading Hispanic activist group, hailed the "end of the beginning" of political anonymity for the Hispanic community.



Colorado voters reject civil rights for gays

BY KATE MUIR

BALLOT ISSUES

IN THE special referendum that accompanied the American election, the state of Colorado voted to bar explicit civil rights for homosexuals and California narrowly rejected hospital euthanasia for terminally ill patients. Washington DC rejected the death penalty.

There were demonstrations in Denver when the Colorado anti-homosexual decision was announced and activists stormed Democratic party headquarters to protest that the state governor had not done enough to defeat the amendment. Over 53 per cent voted for local laws protecting homosexuals from housing and job discrimination to be repealed. Fears of a similar

backlash in Oregon, where a ballot measure would have declared homosexuality "abnormal, wrong, unnatural and perverse", were unfounded: 57 per cent voted against the change.

In California, 54 per cent of the electorate voted against the so-called Death with Dignity Act that would have allowed doctors to give lethal injections to patients who had less than six months to live and had asked to die. There was no requirement that the written, followed by oral, requests from the patients should be witnessed, and there were protests from the churches and from doctors who feared that they would

be sued by relatives. Anti-abortionists, too, lost in the ballot measures. Arizona voters defeated an abortion ban by a margin of two to one and Maryland liberalised its laws, guaranteeing an abortion even if the federal law enshrined in *Roe v Wade* is overturned.

Arizona also voted two to one to bring back a state holiday honouring Martin Luther King after a two-year ban that resulted in the loss of \$300 million (£193 million) in visiting convention revenue and deprived it of next year's Superbowl.

Throughout the country, the anti-incumbency mood was made clear to politicians: 14 states voted to

limit the terms of US senators and House members. Kentucky, deep in the Bible Belt, voted to legalise church-run bingo and, in California, junk-food junkies won their campaign to have sweets and crisps defined as "food", exempting them from the state sales tax.

Although Washington DC, where the last execution was carried out 35 years ago, rejected the death penalty, New Jersey approved capital punishment for crimes resulting in unintended death, and Arizona switched its execution method from the gas chamber to lethal injection.

Colorado emerged as liberal in only one area: it banned the state's black bear hunt to protect mother bears and cubs.

Dons pop breakfast corks for Clinton

BY NICHOLAS WATT

THE Stars and Stripes flew over Oxford yesterday as Bill Clinton's old college celebrated his victory. Fellows of University College, who normally browse through the morning papers at a leisurely pace, enjoyed a distinctly American champagne breakfast yesterday. Professor John Albery, the master, could hardly contain his excitement.

Wearing a Clinton '92 badge that was brought over from America for him, he said that he was euphoric at the election result.

Looking remarkably chirpy after staying up most of the night to hear the results, the professor said: "We are tremendously pleased that an old university man has be-

OXFORD

come president of the United States. We hope that when Mr Clinton visits Britain he will come back to the college."

Oxford had also played a role in the campaign when President Bush tried to smear Mr Clinton over his days as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford. Professor Albery said:

"It was an appalling tactic to try to make Oxford a dirty name. That is partly why Bush lost. I am delighted that Americans have recognised that Oxford is a good word."

Professor Albery also seethed after officials from the Republican party tried to trawl through the college to smear Mr Clinton. "They were appalling," he said.

"A group of officials arrived and tried to invade my office. It was very disagreeable," he said.

The college fellows may have been celebrating, but one American student following in the Democratic winner's footsteps was unmoved by the results. Doug McKenly, 20, who comes from Texas, said: "I didn't go to the party. I thought it was better to sleep than to pay attention to the election."

Professor Sir Richard Southwood, Oxford's vice-chancellor, thought that the victory of Mr Clinton had filled a gap in the university's history. "We have had 24 British prime ministers and others in India, Pakistan and Australia, so you could say that Mr Clinton's victory completes the rest of the British Empire," he said.

"Having a former student as the most powerful man in the world is a source of pride to us," Sir Richard added.

"There is always a temptation to say that Oxford is yesterday's university. But we can now point to one of the youngest leaders in the world. Whatever we do, we still do it well."

Talent scouts scour the land

FROM ANTHONY HOWARD IN WASHINGTON

WHENEVER a sitting president is defeated, Washington moves into a curious period of interregnum. Members of the outgoing administration stay at their posts for 11 weeks until a government-in-waiting comes into being.

If President-elect Clinton follows precedent, his first step will be to announce the make of the head of his transition team who becomes, in effect, the ambassador from the incoming administration to the old. He and his staff are supplied with government offices and serve as the advance guard of the new administration. Quite separate: a team sometimes known as "the talent spotters". It is their

WASHINGTON

task to sift through applications from Democrats who aspire to office in the new administration and to go out and seek those (sometimes regardless of party registration) who possess outstanding qualifications for any of the 3,000 patronage jobs on offer. In 1960 Sargent Shriver, President Kennedy's brother-in-law, played a key part in this team. He suggested Robert McNamara, the president of the Ford Motor Company and a registered Republican, as a possible recruit for top job in the new administration. Although already screens by Mr Shriver, Mr McNamara had never met the new president until he was summoned to Washington and offered the post of either secretary of the treasury or secretary of defence (he chose the latter).

The news of cabinet appointments tends to come in dribs and drabs, although in 1968 Richard Nixon announced his whole cabinet collectively at a television lecture in a Washington hotel. But individuals under consideration by Mr Clinton are more likely to find themselves invited to Arkansas where, subject to the impression they make, their appointments will probably be announced.

Protocol will require, however, that the president-elects at least one courtesy call on President Bush in Washington. This visit will provide an opportunity for Hillary Clinton to be shown over the private quarters of the White House.

Arrangements will already have been made for Mr Clinton to receive more thorough national security and intelligence briefings. The idea behind this is to make it possible for the outgoing commander-in-chief and his successor to hold a coherent discussion before the formal transfer of power.

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BY KATE MUIR

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The seasons change The beauty remains

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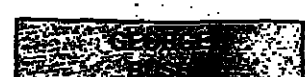
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Republican factions square up for power battle

FROM JAMIE DETTMER IN HOUSTON

AS GEORGE BUSH left Houston yesterday and flew to Washington for a private reception to thank White House staff for their help during his presidency, senior Republicans said they were braced for an angry bout of accusations over the election defeat and expected an early clash between Republican moderates and conservatives for control of a party now in disarray.

Mr Bush came in for criticism for the campaign even before he departed from Texas, with one influential conservative labelling him a "political pariah" for leading the Grand Old Party to only its second presidential electoral defeat in 24 years. Conservative troops, including followers of Pat Buchanan, the right-



The president, however, took his defeat well. In a brief but gracious speech in which he conceded defeat on Tuesday night, he made clear that his administration would ensure a smooth handover of power. "There is important work to be done, and the country always comes first," he said.

He and his wife, Barbara, stood stoically on the stage at the Western Galleria hotel, although some of his staff were weeping behind the scenes. "He's been amazing," said Torie Clarke, the Bush campaign press spokeswoman. She said that he had played the "father figure" throughout the campaign to a demoralised staff, had remained good-humoured, and told them all: "We've done what we can."

His closest aides said the president had steeled himself for defeat as the Republican party's private polls began showing a heavy beating. He knew by mid-afternoon that the outlook was grim, Fred Malek, the Bush campaign chairman, said. At a dinner for family and friends at his base here, the Houstonian hotel, Mr Bush acknowledged defeat. He blamed no one.

"He was strong and graceful," said Robert Moshbacher, the president's chief fundraiser and one of his oldest friends. "What he reflects on is how he did not get the message through to the voters."

With the Democrats now controlling both the White House and Congress, Republicans risk becoming irrelevant in the corridors of power unless they can quickly construct a strategy for opposition.

"We've got to pull ourselves together, settle some differences and develop some programmes," said John Jay Hooker, a former Tennessee newspaper publisher who was instrumental in persuading Mr Perot to mount a challenge for the White House this year. "The initial effort would



Moment of truth: President Bush, surrounded by his family, conceding defeat yesterday morning at his campaign headquarters in Houston

Buoyant billionaire may run again in 1996

BY JAMIE DETTMER

ROSS PEROT

ROSS Perot is planning to remain an influential force in American politics by converting his United We Stand election volunteer organisation into a third party and is already considering running in the 1996 presidential race, according to close friends.

The Dallas billionaire, who surprised pollsters and pundits by his strong showing in Tuesday's election, has been holding discussions with his key aides on how he can set up a fully fledged party and capitalise on his achievement of securing more votes than any independent presidential candidate since 1912.

"I think he understands that he has a role in the future of America," said John Jay Hooker, a former Tennessee newspaper publisher who was instrumental in persuading Mr Perot to mount a challenge for the White House this year. "The initial effort would

be to address issues such as reforming government and the economy," said Orson Swindle, the executive director of United We Stand. Later, the party would aim to field congressional candidates.

On Tuesday night a buoyant Mr Perot likened his candidacy to the grain of sand that irritates an oyster into generating a pearl. "It has been an honour to be your grain of sand in this process," he said. "We will continue to work together to make pearls if necessary in the future."

He told a rally at his Dallas headquarters that the next step after the election is to "take all of our energy and harness it". He continued: "Don't lose your enthusiasm, don't lose your idealism, don't lose your great love for this country, and please don't feel, 'gee, I'm powerless again'. As long as we're together nation-

wide, you have an enormous voice in this country." To rapturous applause, he later held up a bumper sticker with the words "Perot for 1996".

Mr Perot's heavy support in the election was in the west of the country. His 19 per cent share of the national vote was the highest for an independent candidate since Theodore Roosevelt's 24 per cent in 1912. "Perot upset all conventional wisdom," said Mark Shields, a respected commentator for American public television. "He ran better in the election than he did in the opinion polls."

Mr Perot drew big support from Democrats but seemed to do disproportionately better with Republicans. He did particularly well with Conservative white males, a core Republican constituency. In exit polls Perot voters cited the billionaire's performance in

the presidential debate as the main reason for backing him. United We Stand claims to have 5.5 million members and would be a potent force if Mr Perot can keep it together. However, some of the billionaire's friends were sceptical whether Mr Perot's political enthusiasm would last. Mort Meyerson, chairman of the Texas's main firm, Perot Sys-

tems, said: "It's a losing game, trying to figure out what Ross is going to do." Ed Rollins, the veteran political strategist who quit the Perot campaign, predicts that Mr Perot will ultimately lose interest. "You can't keep that coalition together and he's not going to want to keep spending his money at the rate he has."

Millie bows out to Socks appeal

THE Bushes are not alone in falling from favour in the new Washington. As Millie the dog makes way for Socks the cat, a few more "ins" and "outs" will be making the news:

In: Arkansas Hillbilly jokes.
Out: Dan Quayle jokes.
In: Oxford University.
Out: Texas.
In: Policy wonks.
Out: The vision thing.
In: Headbands.
Out: Pearls.
In: Safe sex.
Out: Sexual harassment.
In: Whoopi Goldberg.
Out: Arnold Schwarzenegger.
In: Hot Springs.
Out: Kennedys.
In: Rock 'n' roll.
Out: Country and Western.
In: Baggy trousers.
Out: Brooks Brothers' shirts.
In: The Simpsons.
Out: The Waltons.
In: Ten pin bowling.
Out: Tennis.
In: Junk food.
Out: Pork scratchings.
In: Murphy Brown.
Out: The Wonder Years.
In: Doe's Ear Place, Little Rock.
Out: Peking Gourmet Inn, Virginia.
In: Country picnics.
Out: Country clubs.
In: Choc chip cookies with oatmeal.
Out: Choc chip cookies with butter.
In: Rednecks.
Out: Bluebloods.



winning journalist who challenged Mr Bush for the Republican nomination earlier in the year, have begun making plans to capture the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, which falls vacant in January.

There is also likely to be a struggle between Republican senators and representatives for key positions in Congress in the next few months.

Mr Bush cut a lonely figure yesterday with few Republicans outside of his personal and campaign staff, rushing to prise a man whose political career has spanned 30 years. "Bush will join Tom Dewey and Herbert Hoover as political giants," Burton Fines, a conservative strategist, said.

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Carter would not accept cabinet post

Carter says he is ready to advise

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

FORMER president Jimmy Carter said in Atlanta, Georgia, yesterday that he would not accept a cabinet post in President-elect Clinton's administration, but would be willing to take on an ad hoc advisory position, perhaps on foreign policy matters.

Mr Carter, the Democratic president from 1977 to 1981, said: "As far as a permanent position, I wouldn't be interested in that. We're very happy with the things we're involved in here. But if I were asked to take an ad hoc position for a few weeks, I would be willing to do that as I would have been with President Reagan or President Bush."

He said that he regarded Mr Clinton's victory more as a rejection of President Bush than an endorsement of the Arkansas governor, who won with a minority of the popular vote.

In Washington, Richard Cheney, the outgoing defence secretary, who has often been mentioned as a possible Republican presidential contender, appeared to leave open the possibility of his seeking higher office when he spoke to 45 senior Pentagon appointees in a private staff meeting yesterday.

Saying that he held no grudge against the victorious Democrats, he added: "I look forward to thanking each of you personally, and there may come a day when we will have an opportunity to renew these relationships."

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* Standard and A Bands have been merged.

†† This rate will also be applied by Lloyds Private Banking Limited.

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*** Also applies to Farm Business Loans. **** Also applies to Farm Small Business Loans.



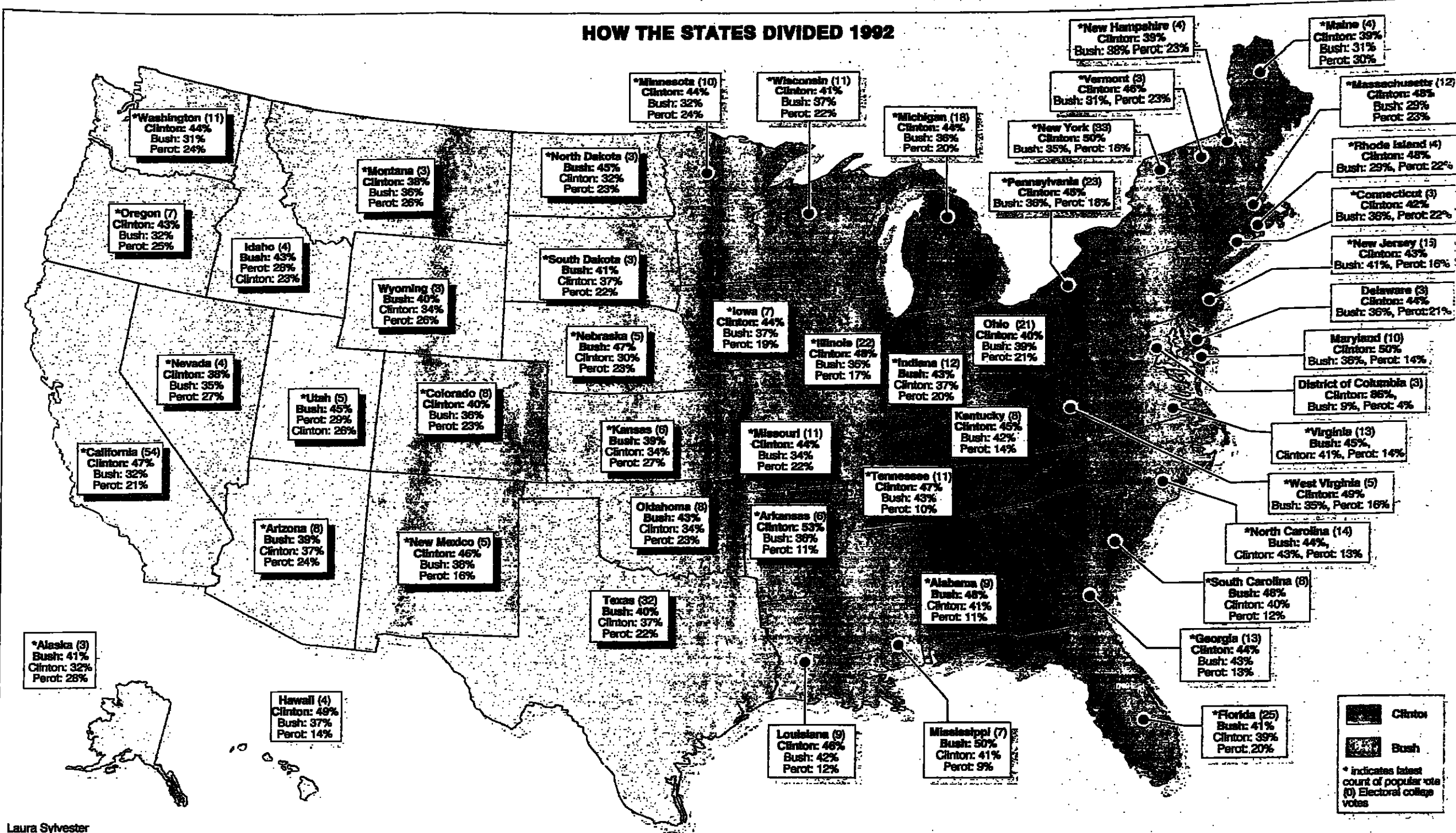
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HOW THE STATES DIVIDED 1992



Laura Sylvester

America decides for the devil it did not know

By Bob Worcester

THERE were many winners in the elections in America on Tuesday. Bill Clinton, the president-elect, Al Gore, his running-mate, the Democratic party, and the pollsters, all succeeded.

The interest in the election and the turnout on the day also made the triumph of democracy apparent. Mr Clinton and Mr Gore achieved a convincing win, with a lead of five points in the popular vote and a 202-vote majority in the electoral college. The results reflected a greater degree of interest than in the presidential election between George Bush and Michael Dukakis four years, and the overall turnout of the electorate was 11 per cent higher than in 1988.

More than 100 million Americans went to the polls this time, compared to 91 million four years ago. In 1988, 64 per cent of Americans said that they were interested in the presidential race, while this year 79 per cent expressed interest. This higher interest led to a higher turnout than the 50.2 per cent of Americans who voted last time, reversing the 30-year decline in presidential election participation. This helped the Arkansas governor to reach the White House. Polls throughout the presidential campaign suggested a significant lead for the Democratic challenger, but what may have been a rogue poll last Thursday put new life into the election campaign and into jaded journalists who were nearly as exhausted by the drawn-out race as the candidates and the electorate.

Traditionally, low turnouts in US elections help the Republicans on the one hand and the incumbent on the other. This time there was a higher registration (up 2.3 per cent from the 126 million in 1988) and higher interest (92 million watched the third debate between the three candidates compared with 71 million who viewed the final 1988 debate).

As the graph shows, the margin in the polls grew smaller during the final few days. However, Mr Clinton never dipped below 40 per cent and President Bush never reached it, following Ross Perot's re-entry in the race on October 1. The third debate seemed to focus the American electorate's mind and the president's campaign seemed to catch fire, but too late. The exit poll of more than 14,000 voters carried out by Voter Research and Surveys gave Mr Clinton a four-point edge with men, while his lead among women rose to 13 per cent. Among voters aged under 44, he achieved a 12-point

■ Bill Clinton was not the only winner on Tuesday. The polling organisations also triumphed as the results came in

| | Bush % | Clinton % | Perot % |
|-----------------|--------|-----------|---------|
| Sex | | | |
| Male | 37 | 41 | 21 |
| Female | 38 | 47 | 17 |
| Race | | | |
| White | 38 | 40 | 21 |
| Black | 10 | 53 | 7 |
| Asian | 55 | 29 | 16 |
| Hispanic | 25 | 61 | 14 |
| Ages | | | |
| 18-29 | 33 | 44 | 23 |
| 30-49 | 38 | 43 | 20 |
| 50-59 | 38 | 42 | 20 |
| 60 plus | 37 | 52 | 12 |
| Income | | | |
| Under \$15,000 | 21 | 61 | 17 |
| \$15,000-29,999 | 33 | 47 | 20 |
| \$30,000-49,999 | 38 | 42 | 21 |
| \$50,000-74,999 | 41 | 41 | 18 |
| \$75,000-over | 46 | 37 | 17 |

Source: USA Today 4.11.92 (when counting incomplete)

lead, with a six-point advantage among those aged 45 and over.

One big question facing pollsters and pundits, as well as the campaign teams in this election, was who would Mr Perot's support hurt most? In the early days of the campaign, I reported that there might be a neutral effect, as the Texas billionaire seemed to drag support from Mr Bush in Republican strongholds such as Mississippi and Virginia, while he also sapped Mr Clinton's following in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In the event, however, Mr Perot took one in five Bush voters and only 11 per cent of the votes last time for the Democratic candidate.

Mr Perot won support mostly among whites (21 per cent), rather than blacks (7

per cent) or Hispanics and Asians (15 per cent). He drew backing from the western states (22 per cent) and the Midwest (20 per cent), while in the South and the east his support fell to 17 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. More men (21 per cent) than women (17 per cent) gave the Texas support, as did young voters (23 per cent of 18-29 year olds) rather than older voters (12 per cent of those 60 and over).

Mr Bush paid the price of concentrating on foreign policy rather than jobs and the economy; only 8 per cent gave foreign affairs as a key influence on their vote, while 43 per cent cited jobs and the economy. One casualty of the election outcome that would disappoint Americans in Britain may be Raymond Briz, their very popular am-

bassador. Americans of all political stripes, led by Democrats abroad, are petitioning the new administration to keep Mr Briz in place.

It is not, however, the popular vote that elects or defeats presidents and their challengers in American ballots, it is the state-by-state results. In the electoral college each state cast its votes in a block and there are 538 electoral college votes, so it took 270 to win. California, which has 54 votes alone, did not see Mr Bush during the final six weeks of the campaign. California was expected to give its 20 per cent of the total number of electoral college votes to the Democratic challenger, and it did. The second largest number of college votes in New York, which has 33 votes alone, did not see Mr Bush during the final six weeks of the campaign. California was expected to give its 20 per cent of the total number of electoral college votes to the Democratic challenger, and it did.

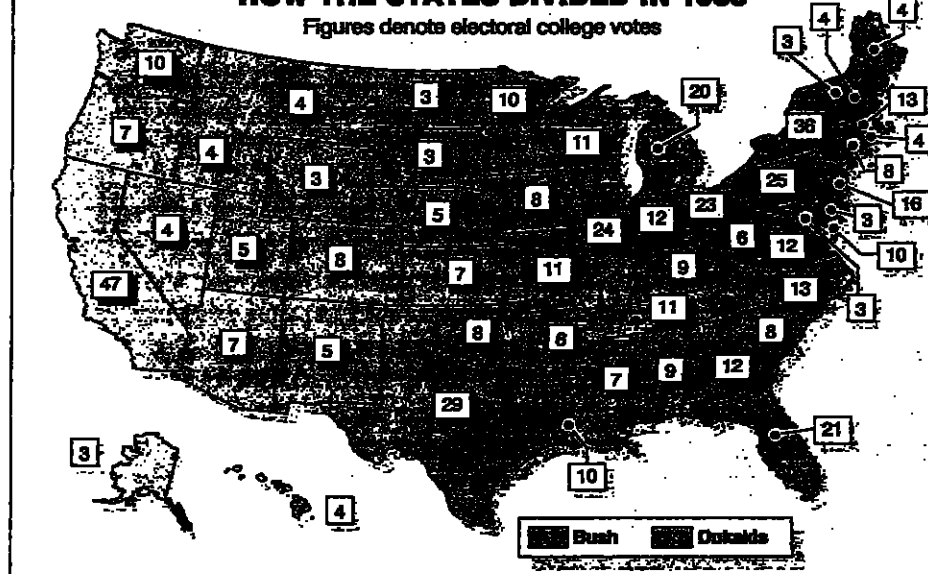
Illinois has a block of 22 college votes, with its population concentration in Chicago, and Mr Clinton led by 15 per cent there, giving him 40 per cent of the 270 total he needed to clinch the White House. In *The Times* on Tuesday there was a map of America based on the state-by-state polls: it indicated which states were likely to be taken by Mr Clinton, those which were leaning towards Clinton, and the states which Mr Bush was likely to win and those leaning towards him. In every state but one, Nevada, the indications proved accurate, and in Nevada, the final poll I saw, showed a five-point lead for the Arkansas governor. The map showed seven states as "too close to call": four of them, Arizona, Kansas, South Dakota and West Virginia, went to the president, while Louisiana, Ohio and Delaware, went to his Democratic opponent.

Richard Wirthlin, America's leading private pollster, who guided the Reagan years' polling operations, told me last Tuesday that it looked as though Mr Clinton would win at least 350 electoral votes. In the end he took 370. Dr Wirthlin explained that 40 per cent of Americans said they were "unfavourable" to Mr Clinton, but 57 per cent said they were "unfavourable" to Mr Bush. In the end, it came down to better the devil you didn't know, on the basis that he could not do worse.

Robert M. Worcester is chairman of MORI and Visiting Professor of Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His analyses are compiled with the assistance of AEP's American Enterprise Magazine.

HOW THE STATES DIVIDED IN 1988

Figures denote electoral college votes



Bill Clinton recoloured the political map of America on Tuesday. In 1988 Michael Dukakis, the Democratic challenger, won ten states and the District of Columbia. Mr Clinton won 32 and the District of Columbia.

George Bush actually enjoyed a slight advantage this year from a reapportioning of electoral college votes to take account of population movements over the past decade. The Democratic "Rustbelt" states of the north and Midwest had generally lost a number of electoral college votes since the 1988 presidential election as people moved to the traditionally Republican southwest "Sunbelt" states, which gained votes.

Twelve governors were due for election. The position of the seat and the percentage of votes counted is indicated under the state name. The winner is in bold and candidates are followed by party and number of votes. Incumbents are shown by date first elected.

DELAWARE

Democrat gain Count: 100%
 Thomas Carper (D) R 279,288
 B. Gary Scott (R) R 90,747

INDIANA

No change Count: 99%
 Evan Bayh (D) R 1,388,517
 Linley Pearson (R) R 914,335

MISSOURI

Democrat gain Count: 99%
 Mel Carnahan (D) R 1,388,623
 William Webster (R) R 957,641

MONTANA

No change Count: 100%
 Allen Ruckelshaus (D) R 208,482
 Dorothy Bradley (D) R 197,081

NEW HAMPSHIRE

No change Count: 100%
 Steve Merrill (D) R 268,953
 Deborah Ann Ameson (D) R 265,253

NORTH CAROLINA

Democrat gain Count: 99%
 James Hunt (D) R 1,547,103
 Jim Gardner (R) R 1,104,358

NORTH DAKOTA

Republican gain Count: 99%
 Edward Schafer (R) R 171,307
 Nicholas Speight (D) R 119,075

RHODE ISLAND

No change Count: 99%
 Bruce Swadlow (D) R 239,252
 Elizabeth Ann Leonard (R) R 130,881

UTAH

No change Count: 99%
 Mitt Leavitt (D) R 260,820
 Stewart Harrison (D) R 176,412

VERMONT

No change Count: 99%
 Howard Dean (D) R 202,118
 John McCaughey (R) R 92,805

WASHINGTON

No change Count: 99%
 Billie Lacey (D) R 1,629,648
 Ken Ellensberry (R) R 912,591

WEST VIRGINIA

No change Count: 99%
 G. Wayne Carper (D) R 238,625
 C. Ben Cline (R) R 238,625

Of the 100 Senate seats, 35 were at stake. The position of the seat and the percentage of votes counted is indicated under the state name. The winner is in bold and candidates are followed by party and number of votes. Incumbents are shown by the date they were first elected in brackets.

ALABAMA

No change Count: 99%
 Richard Shelby (D) R 886,440
 Richard Sellers (R) R 501,676

ALASKA

No change Count: 99%
 Frank Murkowski (R) R 721,834
 Tony Smith (D) R 62,882

ARIZONA

No change Count: 99%
 John McCain (R) R 721,834
 G. Gary Sargent (D) R 417,580

ARKANSAS

No change Count: 97%
 Dale Bumpers (D) R 821,682
 Mike Huckabee (R) R 350,308

CALIFORNIA

Democrat gain Count: 99%
 Dianne Feinstein (D) R 8,485,746
 John Seymour (R) R 3,770,445

COLORADO

No change Count: 99%
 B. H. Thompson (D) R 786,383
 Terry Connelley (R) R 645,525

CONNECTICUT

No change Count: 97%
 Christopher Dodd (D) R 678,948
 Brook Johnson (R) R 593,680

FLORIDA

No change Count: 99%
 Bob Graham (D) R 3,174,346
 Dan Claitor (R) R 1,055,097

GEORGIA

No change Count: 99%
 Wyche Fowler Jr (D) R 1,674,287
 Paul Coverdell (R) R 1,045,087

HAWAII

No change Count: 100%
 Daniel Inouye (D) R 267,794
 Rick Reed (R) R 97,638

IDAHO

No change Count: 99%
 Dirk Kempthorne (R) R 286,392
 Richard Stallings (D) R 207,124

ILLINOIS

No change Count: 99%
 Carol Mosley Braun (D) R 2,582,907
 Richard Williamson (R) R 2,105,488

INDIANA

No change Count: 99%
 Dan Costa (D) R 1,230,248
 Joseph Hegert (R) R 977,016

IOWA

No change Count: 100%
 Charles Grassley (R) R 693,272
 Jean Lloyd Jones (D) R 649,533

KANSAS

No change Count: 99%
 Bob Dole (R) R 694,439
 Gloria O'Dell (R) R 345,851

KENTUCKY

No change Count: 100%
 Wendell Ford (D) R 833,602
 David Williams (R) R 475,674

LOUISIANA

No change Count: 99%
 John Breaux (D) R Uncontested

MARYLAND

No change Count: 100%
 Barbara Mikulski (D) R 1,347,888
 Alan Keyes (R) R 303,859

MASSACHUSETTS

No change Count: 99%
 Christopher Bond (D) R 1,291,898
 Gail Robinson-Baron (R) R 1,041,094

NEVADA

No change Count: 99%
 Harry Reid (D) R 247,274
 Dennis Dahl (R) R 194,048

NEW HAMPSHIRE

No change Count: 99%
 Judd Gregg (D) R 228,391
 John Fash (D) R 225,889

NEW JERSEY

No change Count: 99%
 Jesse Green (D) R 228,391
 John Fash (D) R 225,889

NEW MEXICO

No change Count: 99%
 Bruce Babbitt (D) R 239,252
 Elizabeth Ann Leonard (R) R 130,881

NEW YORK

No change Count: 99%
 Alton S. Amodeo (D) R 289,346
 Robert Abrams (D) R 281,300

NORTH CAROLINA

Republican gain Count: 99%
 Leach Faircloth (R) R 977,016
 Terry Sanford (D) R 968,444

NORTH DAKOTA

No change Count: 94%
 Byron Dorgan (D) R 222,187
 Steve Symons (D) R 113,682

OHIO

No change Count: 99%
 John G. Brown (D) R 209,023
 Mike DeWine (R) R 193,384

OKLAHOMA

No change Count: 100%
 Don Middleton (D) R 297,876
 Steve Largent (D) R 284,349

OREGON

No change Count: 99%
 Bob Packwood (R) R 272,187
 Les AuCoin (D) R 200,794

PENNSYLVANIA

No change Count: 99%
 Arlen Specter (D) R 242,031
 Lynn Yawetz (D) R 213,745

SOUTH CAROLINA

No change Count: 99%
 Patrick Toomey (D) R 222,187
 Thomas Harrell (D) R 213,745

SOUTH DAKOTA

No change Count: 99%
 Tom Daschle (D) R 215,931
 Christine Hays (R) R 108,122

Tennessee

No change Count: 99%
 Robert Bennett (R) R 116,278
 Wayne Owens (D) R 97,638

VERMONT

No change Count: 99%
 Patrick Leahy (D) R 215,931
 James Douglas (R) R 116,278

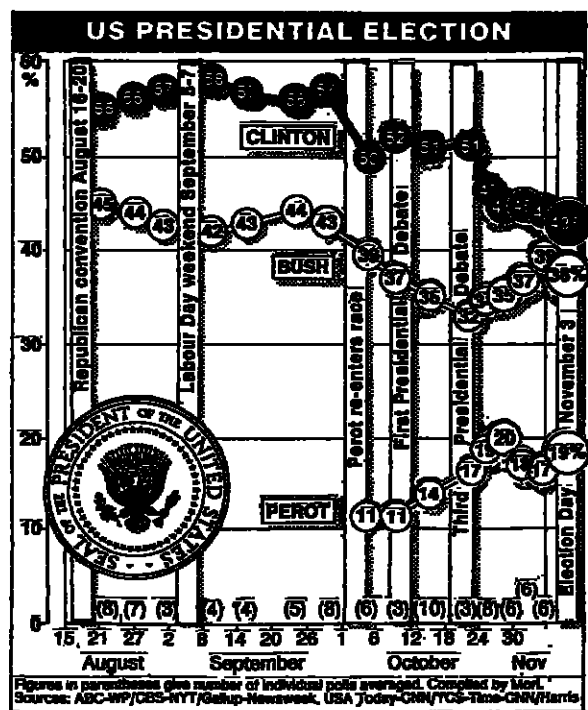
WASHINGTON

No change Count: 99%
 Patsy Murray (D) R 228,391
 Rod Chandler (R) R 225,889

WISCONSIN

Democrat gain Count: 99%
 Rosalind Wiseman (D) R 222,187
 Bob Kasten (D) R 213,745

Dem. Rep. Ind. Total
 Won 20 14 0 34
 Holdovers 22 14 2 38
 Projected party division 30 18 2 50
 Net change +2 -2 0



Figures in per cent. Date of individual state polls. Compiled by MORI. Sources: ABC, AP, CBS, CNN, USA Today, Voter Research and Surveys.

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This is a list of the newly elected House of Representatives for the 103rd US Congress. In the results, issued by the Associated Press, the first figure indicates the congressional district number. A number in brackets indicates the number of votes won by the winning candidate. The district is followed by the winning party and the candidate. At the end, in brackets, is the date the candidate was first elected or, in the case of newcomers, the party that previously held the seat. Lines in bold indicate the seat changed hands.

KEY: * = Uncontested, † = Winner only listed as an independent candidate. R = Republican, D = Democrat, I = Independent.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| ALABAMA | |
| 1 | R Sonny Callahan (84) |
| 2 | R Terry Everett |
| 3 | R Gary Browder (80) |
| 4 | R Tom Davis (80) |
| 5 | R Bud Chesser (80) |
| 6 | R Spencer Bachus (7) |
| 7 | R Earl Hillard (80) |

| | |
|---------------|------------------|
| ALASKA | |
| AL | R Don Young (74) |

| | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| ARIZONA | |
| 1 | R Undeclared |
| 2 | R Ed Pastor (81) |
| 3 | R Bob Smith (79) |
| 4 | R Jon Kyl (80) |
| 5 | R Jim Kolbe (84) |
| 6 | R Kevin English (80) |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| ARKANSAS | |
| 1 | R Blanche Lambert |
| 2 | R Ray Thornton (80) |
| 3 | R John Whitworth (80) |
| 4 | R Jay Dickey (80) |

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| CALIFORNIA | |
| 1 | D Don Hertzberg (80) |
| 2 | D Wally Herger (80) |
| 3 | D Norman Mineta (79) |
| 4 | R Robert Matsui (79) |
| 5 | R Lynn Woolsey (80) |
| 6 | R Don Edwards (80) |
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| 321 | R Norman Mineta (79) |
| 322 | R Don Edwards (80) |
| 323 | R Lynn Woolsey (80) |
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| 325 | R Don Edwards (80) |
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| 327 | R Ronald Dellums (70) |
| 328 | R Bill Lantos (80) |
| 329 | R Undeclared |
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| 400 | R Lynn Woolsey (80) |
| 401 | R Robert Matsui (79) |
| 402 | R Don Edwards (80) |
| 403 | R Nancy Pelosi (80) |

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| COLORADO | |
| 1 | R Patrick Schroeder (74) |
| 2 | R David Stapp (80) |
| 3 | R Scott McPhee |

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| 4 | R Wayne Allard (80) |
| 5 | R Jon Schaefer (80) |
| 6 | R Dan Schaefer (80) |

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| CONNECTICUT | |
| 1 | D Barbara Kennelly (82) |
| 2 | R Undeclared |
| 3 | D Ross DeLuco (80) |
| 4 | R Christopher Shays (87) |
| 5 | R Jerry Fiorino (80) |
| 6 | R Nancy Johnson (82) |

| | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| DELAWARE | |
| AL | R Michael Castle |

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| FLORIDA | |
| 1 | D Earl Hutto (78) |
| 2 | D Pete Peterson (84) |
| 3 | D Courtney Brown |
| 4 | R Title Foyler |
| 5 | R Gordon Thurman |
| 6 | R Carl Stevens (80) |
| 7 | R John Mica |
| 8 | R Bill McCollum (80) |
| 9 | R Michael Bilirakis (82) |
| 10 | R C W Shumway (70) |
| 11 | R Sam Gibbons (82) |
| 12 | R Charles Canady |
| 13 | R Dan Miller |
| 14 | R Porter Cook (80) |
| 15 | R Jim Rostenkowski (80) |
| 16 | R John Lewis (82) |
| 17 | D Charlie Hulse |
| 18 | R James Roy-Lothman (80) |
| 19 | R James Clyburn (80) |
| 20 | D Peter Deutsch |
| 21 | R Lincoln Dixon-Sherer |
| 22 | R E Clay Shuster (80) |
| 23 | D Alcee Hastings |

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|----------------|------------------------------|
| GEORGIA | |
| 1 | R Jack Kingston |
| 2 | D Stanford Bishop |
| 3 | R Max Baucus (80) |
| 4 | R Undeclared |
| 5 | R John Lewis (80) |
| 6 | R Norm Sisler (78) |
| 7 | D Georgia "Buck" Jordan (83) |
| 8 | R Roy Rowland (80) |
| 9 | D Nathan Deal |
| 10 | D Don Johnson |
| 11 | D Cynthia McKinney |

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| HAWAII | |
| 1 | D Mel Abernethy (80) |
| 2 | D Patsy Mink (80) |

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|--------------|----------------------|
| IDAHO | |
| 1 | D Larry LaRocco (80) |
| 2 | R Michael Crapo |

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|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| ILLINOIS | |
| 1 | D Bobby Rush |
| 2 | D Mel Heywood |
| 3 | R William Lipinski (82) |
| 4 | D Luis Gohmert |
| 5 | D Dan Rostenkowski (80) |
| 6 | R Henry Hyde (74) |
| 7 | D C. Card |
| 8 | R Philip Crane (80) |
| 9 | R Sidney Yates (80) |
| 10 | R John Porter (80) |
| 11 | D George Stangermaster (80) |
| 12 | R Jerry Costello (80) |
| 13 | R Dennis Hastert (80) |
| 14 | R Dennis Ewing (80) |
| 15 | D Richard McCormack (80) |
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Philip Howard

Neckties are the tribal totems of our class-ridden and snobbish country

Cliquishness and snobbery are alive and well in modern England. The snipping off of the old school tie has been much exaggerated; we have simply changed the rules. Old Etonians of the new generation have been brainwashed against flaunting their boring ties in the City, even on Fridays, which used to be the day for old school and regimental ties and tweeds, to pretend you were off to buff the parram, even though you were actually going home to shop for cat food and DIY in Suburbia. The enduring power of the old ties has been exhibited once again by a fascinating correspondence in *The Times*, started off by a former Royal Marine who reproached a Japanese tourist for wearing the Royal Marine tie, to which, he presumed arrogantly, he was not entitled.

That unnecessary and uncomfortable strip of ribbon that Englishmen wear round their necks, for the obsolete purpose (from the days before blessed buttons) of keeping one's shirt on, are still potent emblems to exclude lesser breeds without the tie. Members of the Garrick Club fly their hideous broad stripes, off-coloured salmon and avocado, at every opportunity, to signal that they belong to what they take, optimistically, to be an elite band of wits.

Accents are as potent as ties in the armoury of English snobbery. George Bernard Shaw said: "It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making another Englishman hate or despise him." Nothing causes more indignation, uncertainty, and letters to *The Times* than pronouncements that are taken to be "wrong", or from a different and therefore inferior tribe.

Ted Heath could never get his "ew's" (the great diphthongal class indicator) correct. Margaret Thatcher's elocution coach made her too damned suburban English for Scotland, and other parts of the United Kingdom with accents that are not quite Muswell Hill. Snobbery brands the tongue of every British child. The present prime minister sees silly people's teeth on edge by pronouncing *wunt* when he says *want*. But if he did not say that, those who *wunt* to feel superior to the rest of the world would find some other idiosyncrasy in his pronunciation to label him as belonging to a different tribe from theirs. This is a precise example of a shibboleth. The men of Ephraim could not pronounce the fatal word, when they were challenged at the ford of Jordan by their pursuers, Jephthah and the Gileadites. They could only lip-sibboleth. And they regretted that immediately, because 42,000 of them were slaughtered in the passages of Jordan for their naff pronunciation.

In the strict sense, shibboleths are pronunciations different from those of the tribe. In the way that *toity-toity* is a signal that the speaker comes from Brooklyn, or at the least has been reading Damon Runyon, and *fahsn* sounds Cockney. Usually the hoity-toity Gileadites look down their noses at the supposedly lower-class Ephraimites. But linguistic snobbery can work the other way round, as when Gileadites who pronounce it "cahn't dahnce" are mocked as toffs and snobs by Ephraimites. This is the oral equivalent of the modern shame of the OE tie.

You meet shibboleth snobbery in virulent form in the lesser English (not Scottish, apart from Muirfield) golf clubs, where self-important NCO-class officials sternly enforce grotesque sumptuary and dress laws. The really grand golf clubs are not so insecure about their status, and let guests behave pretty well as they like. They are run by pukka senior officers who know how to behave, and themselves dress with a casualness verging on eccentricity.

All Englishmen gravitate to cliques, preferably of one man. The view that snobbery is dwindling is exaggerated. Barbara Cartland came into remote contact with the royals when her daughter Raine's step-daughter became the Princess of Wales. Miss Cartland was asked on the *Today* programme whether she thought that class barriers have broken down in Britain. "Of course they have," replied Miss Cartland to the woman interviewer, "or I wouldn't be sitting here talking to someone like you."

Bernard Levin proposes a roll-call of dishonour for the Foreign Office and its appealing friends

Selling out Hong Kong

The ghastly black comedy of Christopher Paton's visit to China has culminated in the face of the "secret letters". The published documents are, of course, fakes. "Scoops" Levin, and he alone, has got hold of the real file.

They are a considerable disappointment, I am afraid. The Chinese side of the correspondence consists almost entirely of assurances that the most senior figures in the Foreign Office will not, after all, be obliged to kiss the bottom of Lu Ping. (Unless they want to, of course — some of them like that sort of thing, you know.) The British letters insist, over and over again, that so far from demanding any extra measure of democracy for Hong Kong, the Foreign Office is working on a plan to remove the few democratic items already in Hong Kong's constitution, and there is even a working-party drawing up a long-term project for removing democracy in Britain as well.

But it is a black comedy, and it is ghastly, too. When the present fuss has died down, we shall be treated by a government spokesman (probably Tristan Garel-Jones) to yet another claim that when the Chinese dictatorship takes over Hong Kong in 1997, it will not be turned into just another corner of the implacably totali-

tarian Chinese empire, because our Foreign Office says it mustn't be.

Of one thing we can be certain: totalitarian rule admits of no exceptions; that, after all, is why it is called totalitarian. The very idea of a free press — free, that is, to criticise the Chinese rulers — would be not so much dangerous as unintelligible. And it is not just the press. Freedom of movement, of a legal system that is not just an arm of the regime, of dissent itself, of the very concept of human rights — none of these exists in China, and in 1997 Hong Kong will be part of China.

I can do nothing to stop this monstrous British crime against this brave, self-reliant, bustling, happy place, but one thing I have promised my friends there: it is that when the handover is complete, and communism takes the place of freedom, I shall call the roll — the roll of those who said everything would go well, and lied as they said it. It is the least I can do for them; alas that it is also the most.

Nor can anyone avoid the reality of Hong Kong's fate by

asking where is the evidence of what is feared: *si monumentum requirit, circumspice*; the evidence — plentiful, terrible and continuing — is close at hand. It is called Tibet. Once again, the people of that wonderful, beautiful tormented land have asked me to give public voice to their suffering. For the torture has gained a new dimension, as you shall hear. First, though, I must turn to a document so vile and so dishonest that it is difficult to believe that it was written by a human being, rather than the mad scientist of fiction.

It is a paper drawn up in China's "Information Office", and the suffocating ritualised clichés, the barefaced lying, the prose made of cheap cardboard, the monstrous inversion of the truth, the entire absence of anything that be called real — these qualities run through every sentence of the 22 crammed pages. Listen to this:

"Before peaceful liberation, Tibet was... characterised by the dictatorship of upper-class monks... the Tibetan ruling class... deliberately violated and sabotaged the 17-Article Agreement and intensified their efforts to split the motherland... the reactionary clique of the

upper social strata in Tibet took the extreme forbearance of the central government as a sign of weakness... The Dalai clique... stipulates that the Dalai is 'the head of the state'... and engaged in political activities... Spreading rumours and calumnies and plotting riots... the Dalai Lama fabricated numerous lies to sow dissension... to instigate and plot a number of serious riots... it was a conspiracy of the imperialists once hatched in order to carve up China... The Nobel Peace Prize Committee in Norway, with clearly political motives, awarded the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama, giving its strong support to... the Tibetan separatists... The Dalai simultaneously intensified his efforts to incite and plot riots in Tibet... After the quelling of the armed rebellion... the central people's government, in compliance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, conducted the democratic reform in Tibet... the Tibetan people... have become masters of the country and enjoy full political rights... Respect for and protection of freedom of religious belief is a basic policy of the Chinese government... the Tibetan people now enjoy full freedom to participate in normal religious activities..."

In the beautiful and moving exhibition "The Sacred Art of Tibet", at the Royal Academy,

there is a short film which shows something of the holiness and beauty of Tibetan life before the Chinese barbarians invaded. There is, naturally, not much footage of what the barbarians did, considering that what they did included genocide and the destruction of an entire culture many centuries old. But one shot could stand as a symbol of the murdered land: a gigantic monastery deliberately smashed into ruins. And the desert the barbarians made is fully reflected in that sequence of speak-your-weight lies from the Chinese destruction of Tibet.

Now Tibet must borrow King Lear's words: "The worst is not. So long as we can say 'this is the worst'." For some time now, the Chinese barbarians have been waging war against unborn children: in their drive to subjugate Tibet they must control child-bearing, and the best way to control the bearing of a child is to abort the birth forcibly and then sterilise the mother. I have pages and pages of eye-witness accounts of this culling; one will suffice among many.

"... a team came to the village of Waja Chue, Nyenchu Chue and Hor... women must report... or face 'grave consequences' and that to resist was to violate the constitution. They say those who did resist were rounded up by the police and taken by force... pregnant women crying as they waited for their turn in the abortion tent, listening to the screams of those who went before them and watching the growing pile of babies build up outside the tent..."

All tyrannies seek to dilute the population of the country they tyrannise: it was done, for instance, by Stalin, who flooded the Baltic States with Russians. Now, the Chinese under cover of their announcements that Tibet is to be opened up for economic liberation, will draft in more Chinese: it is probable that already Tibetans are outnumbered in their own country, and their second-class status will be even more clear. They are discouraged from studying in their own language: detention without trial is rife; political prisoners rot in jail where torture is common for them; the practice of the Tibetan religion is restricted — even to the teaching and studying of Buddhism.

It is clear that China will not rest until the very name of Tibet is forgotten among the nations. We who have to watch, helplessly, must make sure that it will be remembered.

Why Clinton won while Labour lost

The left wins only when it addresses everyday fears, says Anthony Howard

Twice in the past eight weeks I found myself sharply reminded of the British general election of last April. Both occasions, as it happens, took place in trade union halls and, as I listened to the familiar phrases rolling over me — "brothers and sisters", "working people and their families" — it was as if seven entire months had been washed away.

So incessantly did the victorious ticket of Bill Clinton and Senator Al Gore emphasise that they belonged to "a new generation of Democrats" that it became easy to forget that they were even heirs to the old Democratic party. One reason for their success lay in the skill with which they publicly cut the painter with the past.

Here were two clean-cut young men whose very appearance seemed designed to deliver the message that their party had been reborn. Forget all the old talk about seeking to represent "the underdog" or to forge "a rainbow coalition" — this was a ticket that had set out to wipe the slate clean and make itself acceptable not just to Main Street, USA, but suburban country club America as well.

It was, of course, in part a con-trick. The interest groups that Franklin Roosevelt first put together to form the Democratic coalition in 1932 have not vanished with the years: great care was simply taken to make sure that in this election they were none-too-visible. Governor Clinton may have received 84 per cent of the black vote but, on this occasion, it was brought into the Democratic camp almost by stealth. Even the charis-

matic Jesse Jackson found himself, reluctantly or not, relegated to the fringes of the campaign.

The same went for the role of the labour unions. Mr Lane Kirkland, the president of the AFL-CIO (the US equivalent of the TUC) may hardly count as a dangerously radical figure but he still carried altogether too much old-fashioned ideological baggage to be put on public display. One of the few moments, indeed, in which Mr Clinton looked distinctly uneasy was when, in late October, he consented to take part in a nationwide television hook-up with him. It was a strictly traditionalist trade union occasion, but whether by accident or design, took place safely during Saturday lunchtime with the resulting telecast carefully piped only to gatherings of the faithful.

The new president looks, in fact, like coming to the White House with remarkably few political debts to pay. That is partly because, although he graciously accepted the support of his party's bedrock constituencies, he made remarkably little effort to go out and court them. The notice "under entirely new management" he successfully pinned on the door of his party during the campaign is also likely to prove the best guarantee of his independence in office.

But how did it come about that the Democrats should have managed to convince a wide range of American voters that they had genuinely turned over a new leaf when that was precisely the achievement which eluded Labour in Britain barely more than six months ago? It is



Tough talker: Clinton freed himself from the sentimental constraints of his party's past

easy simply to say that American politics have never been ideological in the sense that British ones were at least until recently — and that, therefore, Mr Clinton faced a much less daunting task than Neil Kinnock. There is, no doubt,

something to that, although in the 1970s (particularly in the George McGovern era) the Democratic party betrayed exactly the same exclusive preoccupation with the purity of its own internal constitutional arrangements as later afflicted the

Labour party in the Tony Benn years. Nor was the immediate past much more helpful to Governor Clinton. The damage done by the Michael Dukakis campaign of 1988 did not lie merely in its failure to prevail at the polls. More seriously, it also

threatened to identify the party with an essentially out-of-date belief in liberal panaceas — panaceas which, even in economic terms, promptly went sour in the candidate's own state of Massachusetts.

If Governor Clinton and his running mate Senator Gore managed in the end to put all that behind them, it was partly because in themselves they triumphantly offered the appeal of freshness and novelty. Through no fault of their own, that was always bound to be an achievement beyond the grasp of Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley last spring. Probably only the more sanguine of Labour supporters are likely to feel that it will prove to be within the reach of John Smith and Margaret Beckett (Tony Blair, may eventually offer Labour much the same opportunity). But, to be fair, the new Democratic leadership did not just have a passive appeal: in policy terms it offered a positive one as well.

Undoubtedly its main achievement was to persuade the electorate that it, rather than the Republicans, held the secret of solving the country's economic problems (for all its carefully spelt out proposals this was the one challenge that, even at times of recession Labour never quite met at the time of the last election).

Governor Clinton deliberately made the economy the cornerstone of his campaign and, if the ballot boxes ultimately more than vindicated his decision, it was not simply because he was lucky enough to have an opponent who, on this topic at least, significantly failed to inspire confidence. The Democratic standard bearer also talked toughly enough to convince even a majority of white male voters that he had freed himself from all the sentimental constraints of his party's past.

If Labour wishes to emulate the Democratic achievement in this election, it looks as if it will need to embark on equally radical policy surgery. John Smith will have to grit his teeth and reject the concept of welfare as "a way of life" in the same ruthless way as the president-elect did in this campaign. Given the party's history, it does not promise to be a wholly palatable experience, but it still looks like being the necessary precondition, however painful for Labour, to do in Britain what the Democrats so triumphantly brought off in the United States this week.

Penning for the guy

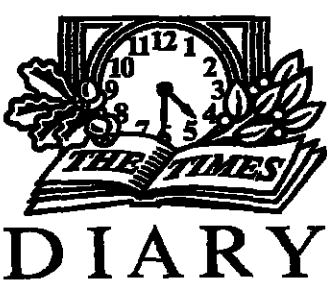
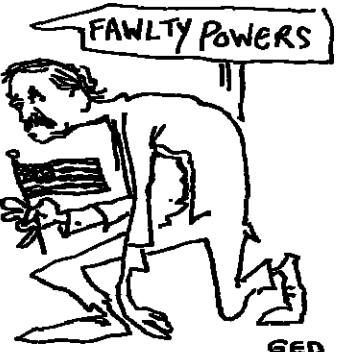
IN time-honoured tradition fire-works will explode throughout Britain tonight as the country remembers the infamous papist plot on the Houses of Parliament. But, rather surprisingly, two of those most closely associated with Guy Fawkes will not be taking part. The first is Lady Antonia Fraser, the historian and author, who has chosen as the topic for her next work the complex story of Britain's most notorious conspirator. The second is St Peter's School, York, where Fawkes was once a pupil and where it is considered not quite cricket to burn the old boys.

Fraser, who is soon leaving London for America to promote her last book, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, intends to start researching the new work early next year.

"I first had the idea while researching a possible future book on the Tower of London and then realised that the Gunpowder Plot was infinitely more interesting," she says. "It will probably be three years before it is published. I am always very slow. I think it is a fascinating mystery. Did he do it? I keep a very open mind on such matters."

Her book will be keenly awaited by the staff and pupils of St Peter's. The school, whose hall prominently boasts a modern oil of its most famous son, has never made mockery of Guy Fawkes. "It really would not be quite proper to burn the guy," says the librarian, Avril Pedley. "After all Guy Fawkes is described by one contemporary as being a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy of disputes and a faithful friend."

Antonina Fraser would probably agree. "I shall not take part in any



bonfire parties," she says. "I am a catholic myself and will probably be watching my husband (Harold Pinter) in *No Man's Land* at the Almeida tonight."

● Before the election results started pouring in, Raymond Seitz, the US ambassador to London, held an impromptu election of his own. Seitz threw a dinner party for 200 or so guests at the embassy before the party for 2,000 people on Tuesday night.

Seitz asked his guests, on a show of hands, to vote for the British candidate they would like as the next president. Not surprisingly, Baroness Thatcher, whose standing has always been high in the US, won overwhelmingly. The real surprise was the runner up, Not John Major, but John Cleese, one of the guests at the banquet.

Dress sense

THE Groucho Club was reverberating with plaudits on Tuesday night as Peter O'Toole, Ned Sherrin, Keith Waterhouse and Michael Redington, the award-winning team from *Jeffrey Bernard is Unwell*, were reunited for the first night of their latest West End production, *Our Song*.

Somewhat out of the limelight was the fifth man, Charles Routledge. At 82, he is reputedly the oldest working dresser in the business. O'Toole, who stars as the middle-aged man besotted by a woman half his age, has struck up a special relationship with Routledge and insisted he work on the production. "It would have been unthinkable to have done the show without him," the actor says. Routledge has worked on the "Avenue" for 56 years, starting as a dancer. He has been a dresser for the last 30. Joan Collins, Diana Rigg, Susan Hampshire, Albert Finney, Coral Brown and Vincent Price are among the stars with whom he has worked.

"Peter has this reputation as a hellraiser but I think he is a perfect gem. I never have any problems with him. He is a joy to work for," says Routledge, who intends to keep working until he drops. "But Diana Rigg is my favourite. I have



worked with her for 20 years. We have become great friends and I often pop round to her house for tea."

● Estate agents will go to any lengths to sell properties in the current market. One property company, deserving no publicity and which shall, therefore, remain nameless, has resorted to using Baroness Thatcher as a marketing



device. The diary, wiping morsels of egg from its collective face, has been duped by a gimmick involving a Lady T lookalike and a firm of estate agents who should have known better. Contrary to our story on Wednesday, Lady Thatcher has not been looking at Lord Birkenhead's former home in Belgrave and we apologise for stating otherwise. "She is not house-hunting at

the moment," says Sir Tim Bell, speaking on her behalf.

Tie-breaker

THE row over Maastricht has spread to the offices of ITV, where some executives are fuming over the decision to proceed with last night's live coverage of the European soccer match between Leeds and Glasgow Rangers. ITV was in the enviable position of being the only mainstream television news channel in a position to cover the Maastricht vote live but there was consternation in the ITN camp over the prospect of extra time. A 2-1 victory for Leeds, which would have led to extra time and then a potential penalty shoot-out, just as the Commons voted, was the result ITN executives dreaded most.

The BBC, by contrast, was valiantly making up for its lack of live TV coverage of the vote by shunting coverage of the South African rugby match onto BBC1. That enabled BBC2 to show the first three hours of the Maastricht debate in the afternoon. Over on Radio 4 it was live coverage on long wave from beginning to end.

"Talk about being in the wrong place at the wrong time," wailed one ITN reporter last night. "We had our eye on the wrong ball. How do we feel? Sick as a parrot."

Handwritten text in Arabic script: "هذا هو الطريق"



TO LEAD AMERICA

Americans want radical change, but prudently managed

In Bill Clinton, Americans have elected a president with a passionate belief in the power of government to improve their lives and assure their children a brighter future. As candidate, Governor Clinton radiated impatience "to change America". The pressures on him to produce a convincing action plan as soon as he gets into the White House will now be commensurately great.

The president-elect has promised an immediate spending package to get people back to work and to raise family incomes, which under Mr Bush have declined by 1.8 per cent. Over four years, he has pledged to increase federal spending on public works, education, and other social programmes by over \$200 billion. He has promised to recoup costs by defence cuts, higher taxes on the wealthy and a thoroughly unsound and probably illegal plan for milking foreign companies investing in the US.

He must prepare now to rein in what could easily be a runaway Democratic Congress, ready to pander to all the party's numerous special interest groups in the name of a Great Society Mark II. Mr Clinton must strive to keep the balance between right and left that he achieved for most of his campaign. The Democrats' grip on both executive and legislative ends the stalemate of the Bush years but also weakens America's system of checks and balances. He must seize his opportunity to demonstrate that America is a governable country again.

The United States has not shifted markedly to the left. Mr Clinton won by convincing voters that he could combine active promotion of social change with conservative values, government in partnership with individual effort. He played skillfully upon real middle class anxieties about America's ability to compete in the world economy, about public schools amid uneven and insecure private affluence, and converted that anxiety into support.

He argued that the problems Mr Bush blamed on cyclical recession were structural, and he called for government action on health, education, training, and modern communications. But Americans have not voted in favour of a "tax and spend" president; nor for a new boom fuelled by federal debt. Mr Clinton must live with the legacy of \$400 billion in federal debt bequeathed by presidents Reagan and Bush.

Voters have opted for social liberalism and fiscal conservatism. Mr Clinton must be ready with a strategy for jobs and growth now; further down the road his supporters will expect him to keep his promise of fiscally prudent government. He must live with his commitment to halve the federal deficit within four years, which may mean foregoing his promised tax cuts for the middle classes and many of his spending plans.

Luck, however, is on Mr Clinton's side. Too late to help Mr Bush, the American economy is at last showing signs of spontaneous recovery. Without federal stimulus, unemployment is expected to fall to 6 per cent by late 1994. Mr Clinton could accelerate the trends that are already running his way. The newfound strength of the dollar could make it easier for the Federal Reserve to cut interest rates yet further this year. Bank lending is picking up, although one of Mr Clinton's first tasks will be to reverse legislation imposing over-stringent new credit controls.

Light pump-priming might be in order, but not a massive public works programme, as Mr Clinton has sometimes suggested. After two decades of relative neglect, Mr

Bush has already increased spending on infrastructure by nearly 20 per cent during his presidency. Were Mr Clinton nearly to double that investment, as he has promised, states already struggling to prepare for a \$23 billion federal highway programme might be unable to absorb the new funds until long after the economy had expanded. Leadership for Mr Clinton in these circumstances will mean turning what is happening in America to his advantage. He will be given credit for the coming economic upturn.

America needs new ideas more than government money. Mr Bush has already acknowledged and acted on some of Mr Clinton's ideas on education. The new president's priority on the social front should be his most genuinely radical scheme, aimed at providing health insurance for all Americans by 2000, while cutting health spending by \$746 billion. America's health bill, at 13 per cent of GNP, is out of control: its 30 million uninsured are a standing rebuke to a civilised society; and, with the highest infant mortality rate in the industrialised world, Americans get poor value for their money. The logic of Mr Clinton's arguments points towards a national health insurance scheme, which will be fiercely resisted by private insurers and the healthcare industry. On no issue will Mr Clinton's readiness to confront powerful lobbies be more severely tested.

An American president cannot be a president for America alone. During the campaign, Mr Clinton stopped short, just, of the crudities of "America First". But he believes that America can exercise international leadership only from a strong economic base. That is fine when he means a better-trained workforce; but it must not translate into hostility to international competition. America leads the world in productivity and capital per worker. It suffers not from excessive free trade, as Mr Clinton has implied, but from the mass of protectionist laws passed under two supposedly free-trading presidents, Mr Reagan and Mr Bush.

Mr Clinton needs to jettison his "fair trade" campaign rhetoric immediately if he is to meet his first international challenge. Yesterday, despairing of a deal with the European Community on the Uruguay Round and a related dispute on EC oilseed subsidies, America sought approval from GATT to introduce \$1 billion worth of retaliatory tariffs against EC exports. Legally, America — which has twice had its complaint upheld by GATT — is on solid ground. Economically, retaliation could start a trade war on many fronts and wreck a global GATT agreement worth an immediate \$200-billion a year in extra trade. A transatlantic trade war could widen the fissures which have already begun to appear in the Western alliance, weakening co-operation both in NATO and at the UN.

Mr Bush has shown dignity in defeat. Two decent men should be able to minimise the policy vacuum between now and Mr Clinton's inauguration on January 20. The new president's first act of statesmanship should be to work with Mr Bush to avert this trade war. If Europeans want America to maintain its active engagement on the world scene, they must give ground. A million tons of oilseeds cannot be allowed to create a global recession and set the Western democracies at loggerheads. Free trade has none of the drama of the Cold War. But it is as essential as resurgent American prosperity to managing the post-Cold War peace.

OBSTACLES TO LEARNING

Teaching children with special needs is not a matter of money

All children have special needs, but those suffering from dyslexia, poor sight or other obstacles to learning, have more special needs than others. Much to his credit, John Patten, the education secretary, has forced this neglected educational issue to the top of his agenda for schools and into his radical education bill, due for its second reading on Monday. The failure of the education service to cater for its most vulnerable pupils is one of the most shameful blemishes on its record and one that successive governments have buried in committees and platitudes. Today's proposals by the Audit Commission could help to reverse this trend.

Educational lobbies have often insisted that the problems faced by parents of children with special needs could be quickly solved with cash. But the Audit Commission's preliminary study in June found otherwise: the problem is essentially one of management. The system of special provision introduced by the 1981 Education Act is in a sorry state — to the cost of the already disadvantaged children who have become its bureaucratic victims. Some local authorities take more than three years to issue statements setting out pupils' particular requirements. The fate of a child with learning difficulties has become a regional lottery: pupils with registered special needs vary from fewer than one per cent in some areas to more than three in others.

The Audit Commission has now followed up its scathing diagnosis with a suggested course of treatment. In the true spirit of the government's education reforms, the commission has produced a manual, based on case studies of good practice and a "client-contractor" relationship between local authorities and schools. Funds should follow children with special needs and schools should be held properly accountable for their progress. Too often in the past councils have prevented resources following pupils from

special schools into mainstream education, thus dissuading head teachers from admitting children whose needs would inevitably cause a financial drain.

More radically, councils are urged to delegate cash for pupils with special needs without waiting for the formality of the statement that is currently the principal sticking-point. The commission rightly demands a clear definition of special needs and a legal time limit for the drawing up of assessments, tasks repeatedly dodged by legislators and officials.

This admirable shopping list, backed up by independent inspection, would certainly improve the lot of the 1.2 million pupils with special educational needs. But there are still areas which the Commons select committee on education should explore further in its forthcoming report on special provision. Growth of the grant-maintained sector, diversity in admissions policies, and the pressure on schools to excel in league tables, must not create a stratum of unwanted children, shunted from school to school.

There are encouraging signs, in fact, that some opted-out schools are already responding to the needs of the market and will focus on special education. The education bill will also introduce a tribunal, to which parents of children with special needs can appeal, against local authority decisions. A crucial test of the reform will be whether it offers choice to parents who have felt powerless.

One danger is that reform must be put into effect by local education authorities, just as the government appears to be dismantling them. Though councils will remain responsible for special needs, most of their other functions will be transferred, bit by bit, as more schools opt out, to the new funding agency. There is ample scope here for another bureaucratic failure and another generation of classroom casualties. This Mr Patten must avoid.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

Factors that may swing Synod vote on women priests

From the Reverend C. M. Jones

Sir, It is widely asserted that a "yes" vote on the ordination of women in the General Synod on November 11 will plunge the Church of England into turmoil, deep divisions and distraction from more important tasks, while a "no" vote will be a safer course for those unconvinced by the theological arguments in favour. I believe this to be almost exactly the reverse of the truth.

The Church is already beset by turmoil, divisions and distraction as a result of the debate, and your report in today's edition, "Synod vote will split the Church", reminds us that a "no" vote would place intolerable pressures on women deacons and increase the likelihood of illegal action.

The inevitable process of further discussion and legislation would merely prolong the agony and bitterness. A vote in favour, though it would create more problems in the short run, would be a courageous step towards resolving the issue and would speed up the processes of reconciliation and adaptation.

There is good authority in the New Testament (Mark viii, 35) for believing that a genuinely safer course is to take a risk, in all humility and in a spirit of trust in Christ and his gospel.

Yours faithfully,
CHRISTOPHER JONES,
St John's College,
South Bailey, Durham.
November 3.

From the Reverend E. M. T. Underhill

Sir, The bishops and General Synod have taken pains to assure us that those who do not accept the possible ordination of women as an option would not be discriminated against. A Way Ahead, the report on the future of ministerial training issued by a working party led by Bishop Hardy (details, October 29, earlier editions), now gives the lie to this "assurance".

Ministerial Theological College is threatened because it will not train women, Oak Hill Theological College because (among other reasons) it reportedly trains women inadequately. So there we have it. The threat of discrimination has reared its head even before the debate on the women's ordination question has been held in Synod, and is in spite of one quarter of the House of Bishops voting against the publication of the report. Is it the authors' aim to get rid of all vigour and variety, leaving us in an anomic middle ground where women predominate?

Ministerial and Oak Hill are acknowledged to be two of Britain's best

theological colleges, giving vivacity and stability to the Church both by the quality of the students they attract and the teaching they provide. Bishop Hardy's report must be rejected at once before it does any more harm.

Yours faithfully,
EDWARD UNDERHILL,
St George's Vicarage,
327 Durham Road,
Gateshead, Tyne and Wear.
October 29.

From Rabbi Dr Jonathan Romain

Sir, Seventeen years ago Reform and Liberal synagogues were also faced with the issue of female ordination and drew up remarkably similar bulletins. Those in favour argued that the equality of women in society was not a passing fad but a major and permanent sociological change that had to be recognised within religious life too. Those against cited "tradition" and warned that the community would be split irrevocably. Both groups were sure that God was on their side.

In the event women were ordained — but neither walk-outs nor thunderbolts occurred. With hindsight it is clear that much of the opposition was based on habit rather than conviction. A decade and a half later, acceptance of women rabbis is such that we wonder why we ever made such a fuss about it. The Church of England may well feel the same in 2009.

Yours faithfully,
JONATHAN ROMAIN,
Maidenhead Synagogue,
9 Boydon Hill Avenue,
Maidenhead, Berkshire.
October 30.

From the Reverend Hugh Valentine

Sir, I am a worker-priest in the Church of England and manager of a children and families' social work team in local government. I work alongside women in both settings. Additionally my paid work brings me into regular contact with women operating at many levels in such professions as the law, medicine, the police and the probation service. Within my own department I report to a woman, and the department's head is a woman.

I believe I see amongst these women the same incidence of competence and incompetence, compassion and hard-heartedness, gifts and handicaps, wisdom and stupidity that I observe among men. And in this glorious range of humanity I believe I observe God's handiwork and evidence of God's grace.

I am unconvinced by the fears of those members of General Synod

intending to vote against the ordination of women about a measure that will enable the sacred office of priest to become as inclusive of God's creation as the creation is itself.

Yours faithfully,
HUGH VALENTINE,
4 Leigh House, Halcrow Street,
Whitechapel, E1.
October 29.

From Miss Anne Bulloch

Sir, Your leader, "The priestly vocation" (October 30), describes tradition as the stronger of the two main arguments against the ordination of women. It is, indeed, much older than the Church of England.

But is a tradition that encompassed the episcopacy of the Borgia popes but would deny priesthood to such as St Catherine of Siena, St Teresa of Avila, Mother Julian of Norwich or, in our own day, Mother Teresa, worthy of preservation?

When the Church makes gender not spirituality the criterion for ordination it has its priorities very wrong indeed.

Yours faithfully,
ANNE BULLOCH,
1 Cranley Mansions,
160 Gloucester Road, SW7.
November 2.

From Mr Derek Edwards

Sir, Your leading article asks "had Jesus been female, would women now be guarding the priesthood against the opposite sex as jealously as do men?" May I suggest an answer.

If Jesus had been female, the all-male priesthood would now be telling us that, in Jesus, women's priesthood had been perfectly fulfilled and that to ordain women as priests now would be blasphemy, implying that Jesus had somehow been lacking in some way. They would point to the sex of the apostles (whether all male, all female, or some of each) as evidence to back up this argument.

On the other hand and in the same spirit of conjecture, if all women deacons were suddenly to declare that they are being called only to the diaconate, not to the priesthood, I would confidently expect someone to announce that "it is not that women do not make very good deacons — there is no doubt that they do — it is just that the diaconate is not what they are being called to".

Yours etc.,
DEREK EDWARDS,
194 West Wycombe Road,
High Wycombe,
Buckinghamshire.
November 3.

Perhaps Mr Riddell has some particular technique of discovering what advice ministers are given as to the implementation of their policies. But as civil servants are bound by a code of conduct that guarantees absolute confidentiality and loyalty to the minister of the day, a civil servant will be unable publicly to explain any differences between the policy advice given, and the decision actually taken by a minister. Civil servants advise. Ministers decide.

Moreover, the naming publicly of civil servants who are unable to defend their own position, indeed who would be sacked if they were to attempt to do so, seems a pretty loaded way of putting an individual on trial, and sentencing him, without any opportunity at all for a defence to be heard.

Yours sincerely,
ELIZABETH SYMONS,
General Secretary,
The Association of First Division Civil Servants,
2 Caxton Street, SW1.

Fathers know best?

From Ms Mary Honeyball

Sir, The Child Support Act, when it reaches the statute book next April, could solve the problem for fathers who doubt the paternity of their children, as described in Sean French's article of October 29, "Father knows best... or does he?" Under the act, the Child Support Agency will be able to use the courts to obtain a DNA test to prove the paternity of a putative father and his liability to pay maintenance. In addition officers will be able to visit his workplace or get information from the Inland Revenue and local authorities.

Gingerbread opposes this legislation. One in three of our membership fear violence from an ex-partner. Under the act they will be expected to name the absent parent or suffer costs in benefit if they cannot provide evidence for their fears.

Sean French writes: "If fathers envy the mother's biological connection, this is accompanied by a sense that motherhood is just a little too easy". Seventy per cent of single mothers live on £100 a week or less, which is not an enviable state. The Child Support Act will not help the 75 per cent of lone parents who live on income support, as any maintenance collected will be deducted from their benefit.

Yours sincerely,
MARY HONEYBALL,
(Chief Executive),
Gingerbread,
35 Wellington Street, WC2.

Letters should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be faxed to 071-782 5046.

MCC's role in English cricket

From Mr Raman Subba Row

Sir, The public debate on the wisdom or otherwise of not selecting David Gower for the forthcoming England cricket tour to India has been overtaken by the broader issue of the capacity of MCC members to influence or override the decisions taken by the properly constituted committee of the relevant England governing body — the Test and County Cricket Board (reports, Sport, October 28, 29, 30).

Along with the 18 first-class counties and the Minor Counties Cricket Association, MCC is a member of TCCB. As such MCC has as much right to advise TCCB of its corporate views as any of its 19 fellow-members and, like any of those 19, it should pay attention to the voices of those within its own club. Then, through its committee, it should decide what views should or should not be conveyed to TCCB.

What is emerging at the moment is a scenario giving the impression to the public that MCC is still in charge of England cricket. All that changed in 1968 when TCCB was formed. Since then MCC has continued to play an important role in the development of the game at grass-roots level both nationally and internationally as well as providing England cricket with its largest and most prestigious venue at Lord's.

Long may that role continue without the current distractions of ill-conceived and expensive special general meetings — however constitutionally correct their convening may be. Would not the £17,000 that such a meeting costs be better spent on something as positive as youth cricket?

Yours faithfully,
RAMAN SUBBA ROW,
Leeward, Manor Way,
South Croydon, Surrey.
November 3.

Sports letters, page 44

Royal visit to Seoul

From the General Secretary of the Royal British Legion

Sir, It is hardly surprising that the Prince and Princess of Wales were looking solemn during the opening stages of their visit to Korea (photograph, November 3). Not only had they just endured the long flight to Seoul, but their first duty there was to lay a wreath at the monument to Korean heroes: surely this, like their visit yesterday to the Gloucester Memorial, was a solemn occasion.

I have no doubt that the sentiments so movingly portrayed by both the prince and princess will be widely shared next Sunday at the Cenotaph and in churches throughout the land. I am also sad that some other newspapers have chosen to use photographs taken on both occasions to project their own interpretations of other matters.

Yours faithfully,
PHILIP CREAMY,
General Secretary,
The Royal British Legion,
48 Pall Mall, SW1.
November 4.

Dove Cottage

From the Director of the Wordsworth Trust

Sir, Mr Peter Brooke, the Secretary of State for National Heritage, is not, and could not be, the owner of Dove Cottage at Grasmere ("Our partisan priest of pleasure", Weekend, October 24).

On December 1, 1891, Mr Peter Brooke's great-grandfather, Stopford Brooke, and a group of gentlemen, having bought Dove Cottage through a national subscription, formed the Wordsworth Trust to establish a memorial to the poet.

Stopford Brooke was the first chairman of this charitable trust, and since then there has always been a member of the Brooke family amongst the trustees. Very recently, Mr Brooke has felt it proper to resign as a trustee because of his ministerial appointment.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT WOOD,
Director,
The Wordsworth Trust,
Dove Cottage,
Grasmere, Cumbria.
November 3.

Extra time

From Mr Gerald J. Goodhardt

Sir, In support of Simon Jenkins's article on crime statistics (October 30), I recall hearing 40 years ago from an eminent Cambridge criminologist that in a certain East Midlands town arrests for soliciting soared on the evenings before the local football team was playing at home.

This turned out to be due not to the opportunity for increased trade offered by the presence of supporters of the visiting team, as first thought, but to the fact that police officers required to attend court on Saturday morning were given Saturday afternoon off.

Yours faithfully,
G. GOODHARDT,
City University Business School,
Frobisher Crescent,
Barbican Centre, EC2.

Business letters, page 29



Visitor, this morning visited Cranfield Institute of Technology, Milton Keynes, and was met on arrival by Her Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant for Bedfordshire (Mr Samuel Whitbread).

His Royal Highness, Vice Chairman of the British Overseas Trade Board, this afternoon visited Electrosval Ltd, and IBC Vehicles, Luton, Bedfordshire.

Captain the Hon Tom Coke was in attendance.

The Duchess of Kent, Deputy Colonel in Chief of the Royal Dragon Guards, today received Major General Patrick Brooking, Colonel of the Regiment.

Division and Lady Brown, Mr Tom King, C.M.P. and Mrs King, the Governor of the Bank of England and Mrs Leigh Pemberton, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Mrs Goodlad, the Minister of State for Defence Procurement, guests and representatives of organisations having commercial and cultural connections with Brunel, representatives from the Forces and the civil service, representatives of City institutions and Aldermen, Common Councilmen and

[illegible][illegible]

BIRTHS: Hans Sachs, poet and dramatist, Nuremberg, 1494; James Elroy Flecker, poet, London, 1884; John Burdon Hall, danc. physiologist and geneticist, Brinsford, Lancs., 1892; Vivian Leigh, actress, Darjeeling, 1913.

DEATHS: Bernardino Ramazzini, physician, Padua, 1714; James Clerk Maxwell, physicist, Cambridge, 1879; George M. Cohan, actor and song writer, New York, 1942; Maurice Utrillo, painter, Le Vesin, 1955; Mack Sennett, creator of the Keystone Cops films, Hollywood, 1960; Jacques Tati, actor and film director, 1982; Edmund Andrews, broadcaster, London, 1987.

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OBITUARIES

ORTON CHIRWA

Orton Chirwa, Malawian barrister, politician and political prisoner, died in prison in Zomba, Malawi, on October 20 aged 73. He was born at Chikwira, 15 miles from Nkhata Bay on Lake Malawi, on January 30, 1919.

Orton Chirwa was Malawi's first barrister, a freedom fighter who was jailed by the British, and a justice minister and attorney general after independence. He was then sacked by the country's ruler, Dr Hastings Banda, and driven into exile, only to be kidnapped and jailed for treason eleven years ago.

One of the many ironies of Orton Chirwa's life was that it should end only two days after the man whose personality cult and ruthless dictatorship he had opposed for so long announced that he was calling a referendum on ending single party rule.

Chirwa had been cruelly treated in prison. Human rights organisations reported that he had been suffering from limited vision, thanks to untreated cataracts, that he was afflicted by heart trouble and by high blood pressure. Until recently, they said, he had frequently been manacled naked by his wrists and ankles to an iron bar in solitary confinement.

Another irony was that when the British released him from prison in 1959 he launched, a month later, the Malawi Congress Party, with himself as president, declaring that as soon as Dr Banda was free from jail he would step aside in his favour. He kept his word, and five days after Dr Banda stepped out of jail he stood down and Dr Banda took over the movement.



Orton Edgar Chingoti Chirwa was first educated at Kamungu village school which, at the age of four, he walked five miles to and five miles back from every day. At 11 he went to Lubwa Church of Scotland mission school in Zomba, where his fellow pupils included Kenneth Kaunda and Simon Kapwepwe. In 1934 he returned to Malawi, studying at

University in South Africa where he gained a first class degree in philosophy.

He began teaching in 1951 at Domasi Teachers' Training College near Zomba where he complained that he received only two-thirds of the salary of a white teacher. After four years he began to study law and went the next year to Lincoln's Inn, London, teaching in London schools to maintain himself while he studied.

He came to the bar in 1958, and in June of that year returned to Malawi opening an office in Limbe as the first African barrister in the country. His reputation and inclination led him to defend many nationalists in court, until the next year he and his wife were arrested in the round-up that followed the so-called "Massacre Plot" which was said, in a government White Paper, to be a conspiracy to assassinate the governor, leading members of the administration and other Britons.

Chirwa was released in less than six months, because, it was rumoured he could be useful as an intermediary between the British authorities and Dr Banda prior to the break up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

After he stepped down from the presidency of the Congress Party he was at Dr Banda's side as legal adviser in London when self government was being negotiated. He was reported to have organised the strategy of the Malawian side, down even to the timing of the walk-out at the federal review conference in December 1959.

After the 1961 elections he became parliamentary secretary to the justice ministry, and then minister of justice and attorney general. He travelled

the world the next year and on his return set up Malawi's local court system.

Chirwa and a number of other politicians were already troubled by Dr Banda's autocratic tendencies. He treated his cabinet, another member recorded, as "kitchen boys". Chirwa himself was uncomfortable over the slow pace of Africanisation of key administrative posts, but the break came two months after independence in 1964 over a threepence per head hospital fee imposed by Dr Banda, acting as health minister without consulting any other member of the cabinet. Banda accused Chirwa and two others of being in collusion with the Chinese embassy in Tanzania to bring him down, and sacked them. Three other ministers resigned in protest. Chirwa went first to his constituency on Nkhata Bay, then to Zambia.

In London he described the plot as a figment of Dr Banda's imagination and eventually settled with his wife Vera in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He became a university lecturer, she became a state attorney. Between them they founded the Malawi Freedom Movement and campaigned successfully to return democracy to the eight million inhabitants of the country.

In 1981, while in Zambia, the couple were abducted and taken to Malawi where they were tried by a tribunal court with no legal representation allowed. They were sentenced to death for treason. But in 1984, following international protests, the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Chirwa's wife survives him, still a prisoner herself. A month ago they were allowed to meet each other for the first time for eight years.

APPRECIATIONS

Lord Franks

OBITUARIES of Oliver Franks including your own (October 17) have referred to his coldness, making him sound like Ozymandias. I saw him a good deal in the early days when he was ambassador in Washington and again at the end of his career in the public service when he was vice-chairman of the Prince of Wales's Council in the Duchy of Cornwall.

His life and work were governed by reason; but reason told him that, while calculation had to be applied to everything to decide the appropriate course of action, the heart was part of the equation and could not be left out of account.

He would often in the afternoon in the embassy, leave his office and stroll along the corridor to mine, where he would sit, stretching out his long legs, and puffing at his pipe, tell me that he was relaxing. It was essential, he explained, to set aside periods of rest during the day. It was, to be sure, not all that relaxing to me to have this formidable figure sitting beside me allowing his mind "to expand" to use a phrase of Ernest Bevin's who was one of Franks's earliest and greatest admirers. But I learnt from these sessions something of the breadth and charity of Franks's mind.

On one occasion when we were discussing the highly practical problem of how to persuade the members of the Senate to accept the idea that came to be incorporated in the North Atlantic Treaty, Franks suddenly switched subjects



and said: "You know, what the world needs nowadays is more poets." I should have responded by quoting some lines of Keats which would certainly have appealed to him but unfortunately such was the tension within me that I was quite unable to come across with anything.

When, some forty years later, he wished to brief me about the Duchy of Cornwall he did not ask me to go to his office for the purpose. He invited me to lunch - to a good lunch with fine wine. There was nothing austere about his hospitality.

There was something penetratingly human about the insights he gave me concerning the problems and personalities involved. Anything in which he was involved came within the compass of his steady analysis. But this did not mean that he was indifferent to human feelings or cold-hearted in his relationships.

Sir Nicholas Henderson

Petra Kelly

THE Tibetan community feel the loss of Petra Kelly (obituary, October 21) a fellow human being who championed the Tibetan issue.

Petra Kelly while a member of the German parliament, was one of the main architects of a resolution on Tibet in 1987 expressing concern at the violation of human rights in Tibet under Chinese rule. This was the first resolution on Tibet passed by any foreign parliament. In April 1989, Petra Kelly organised, for the

first time in history, a bipartisan hearing on Tibet in Bonn. Thereafter, similar international hearings have been organised in different countries to further internationalise the Tibetan issue.

A young Tibetan refugee girl benefited from Petra Kelly's generous financial assistance towards meeting her educational expenses in India. I met her several times and was moved by her concern for the oppressed.

Tseten Samdup
The Office of Tibet

Magnus Pyke

MAY I amplify your excellent obituary of Dr Magnus Pyke (October 21)? You write that Magnus Pyke became chief chemist in the research laboratories of Bemax in Hammer-

smith, but it was the research laboratories of Vitamins Ltd. under my chairmanship. Bemax is the name of a wheatgerm product, still produced by the Bemax Group who later took over Vitamins Ltd.

H. C. H. Graves

MAJOR-GENERAL ALAN MILLS

Major-General Alan Mills, Director General of Artillery, in the Ministry of Defence, 1967-69, died after a long illness on October 22 aged 78. He was born on March 11, 1914.

ALAN Mills was one of only two officers of his generation to reach the rank of General Officer after being taken prisoner by the Japanese when Hong Kong fell in December 1941. His and his wife's survival through their four years of captivity gave them the greatest sympathy for the predicament of the Falkland Islanders after the Argentine invasion in 1982. He ran the highly successful Falkland Islands Appeal and devoted the last ten years of his life to supporting the islanders' cause.

He was educated at Marl-

borough College and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, before being commissioned into the Royal Artillery in 1934. After three years with the 1st Light Brigade in England, he was posted to the 5th Anti Aircraft Brigade in Hong Kong in June 1941. He married Elizabeth de Courcy Morgan Richards of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Nursing Service. Just before the Japanese invasion, he was transferred to command the 20th Coast Defence Battery on Stonehouse Island, which was eventually overrun by the Japanese. He was held in Argyle Street (POW) camp, and his wife was interned with her family at Stanley.

A tall good-looking man, Mills had a marked technological bent. While in captivity, he filled his time designing a 21ft sailing cruiser, which

proved a great success when it was built after the war. On his return to England, he found that the army required volunteers for training as technical staff officers to handle the increasing sophistication of its weapon systems. He grasped the opportunity to join the Weapons Staff, in which he specialised in guided weapons. Among other appointments he was Military Director of Studies at the Royal Military College of Science, Shrivenham, 1958-61, and Director of Guided Weapons Trials in the War Office, 1962-66.

He was promoted major general at the beginning of 1967 and appointed Director General of Artillery on the Master General of Ordnance's staff. During this time he had the satisfaction of

seeing the introduction into service of the new generation of guns and guided weapons on which he had worked for most of his postwar career.

After he retired from the army in 1969, he settled at Seaview on the Isle of Wight and undertook a number of appointments in the sailing world until the invasion of the Falkland Islands in 1982 engaged his sympathy for the islanders' plight. Besides instigating and running the Falkland Islands Appeal, which raised £640,000 in its first year, he organised the "No's Ark" operation, buying and shipping animals of all types to replace those lost during the fighting and in the minefields. He also acted as honorary treasurer to the Falkland Islands Association until his health began to fail.

His daughter died in 1986; his son and wife survive him.

ALFRED BECK

Alfred Beck, keeper of the books of St Brides, Fleet Street, for 66 years, has died aged 89. He was born on October 3, 1902.

ALFRED Beck had a substantial frame, a fine head, a very considerable intellect and was a familiar Fleet Street figure for nearly 70 years. He was managing clerk at White and Leonard, solicitors of Ludgate Circus. The parish of St Brides was an important client.

With its institute, printing library and musical tradition, it was a substantial enterprise, it hub in the daily life of "The Strand". Beck was concerned with it all his working life, principally as the Vestry Clerk, in effect general manager of its business affairs. He was both shrewd and visionary in the management of church monies. In 1951, with St Brides still in ruins after the

war, it was agreed there should be an appeal for rebuilding. Lord Astor of Hever was the appeal's president. Alfred Beck the financial secretary to the appeal.

Beck, a Methodist, had general oversight of the property matters of some 200 churches in the London south west district. His father was a grocer in Tooting, who "wholesaled" quarter-pounds of bacon later "retailed" in the deprived streets nearby, "rasher" by rasher; his mother was a locally noted singer of gospel and temperance songs, the latter evenings on Saturday nights. A few years ago it was felt appropriate that Beck should become a freeman of the City of London. The sponsors for this non-conformist, total abstainer were his fellow Vestrymen, Sir Colin Cole, and M. Christopher Mitchell of El Vino's.

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WORD-WATCHING

Answers from page 22

INCONCINNITY

(b) Unsimilarity, incongruity, from the Latin *inconcinna* lacking the social graces: "A voyage in a hot-air balloon could precipitate no new shiver from my paraphernalia and kitchen epistemology except the sensation of brooding on the sweep of inconcinnity displayed below me like a snap and perhaps acrophobia."

CENTRIPETAL

(a) Towards the centre, uniting, from the Latin *centripetus* centre + *petere* to seek: "With Rosalind, the whole point is that lovers always get together, isolation is overcome, and like it or not that is the one great centripetal movement of the World."

BEBOLOGYPHIC

(a) Profane, unholy writing, from *bebo* = Basil, the Devil, & *glogia* = to write letters: "The words themselves sank down into the ink-crusted paper and pervertedly seemed to have an existence only on the side of the page: a beboologyphic of revolt and refusal, backwards in dead black."

SUPERVENE

(b) To intervene, unexpectedly and with opposing effect, from the Latin *super* on top of + *venire* to come: "The tornado which supervened and the Doctor faced his fettle directives." "How close we had been before all this unhappiness supervened."

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NEWS

Major fights to save Maastricht

John Major yesterday launched his fight to save the Maastricht treaty — and possibly his future as prime minister — with a passionate declaration that Britain must not be left "scowling in frustration" on the fringes of Europe.

In a noisy Commons debate, marked by savage Liberal Democrat and Labour attacks on each other, the prime minister was supported by Sir Edward Heath, who urged the dissidents not to endanger the government. Pages 1-5

Clinton calls for a new beginning

A new era in American politics began yesterday with Bill Clinton, the president-elect, calling for a "new patriotism" and a "Re-United States" in which all Americans work as one. He laid out his vision of a "new beginning" and "a new partnership for a new America" before thousands of supporters in Little Rock. Pages 1, 12, 14-17

Parental rescue

People in the housing debt trap could be rescued by their parents under a scheme launched yesterday by the Woolwich building society. Parents would offer their homes as temporary security for a proportion of a new mortgage and the fresh loan would include the debt from the previous house, enabling a move. Page 6

Ambulance failure

Britain's biggest ambulance service, covering London, yesterday reverted to full manual control after another failure in its computer system forced senior management to concede it could not cope with the task. Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, was studying a confidential letter from a computer consultancy which alleges that its warnings of the inadequacy of the system had been ignored. Page 7

Cost of courage

A fireman who received bravery awards for fighting the King's Cross fire disaster in 1987, was awarded £147,683 damages in the High Court from London Underground for post-traumatic stress disorder. Paul Hale, 44, of Minster, Kent, was described by Mr Justice Otton as "probably the most courageous man I shall ever have the privilege to meet". Page 8

Treasury caution

The Treasury was yesterday trying to dampen down expectations about the recovery package

to be announced with the Autumn Statement next week as spending ministers prepared their final defence against spending cuts. Page 5

Misery trek

A young woman, a victim of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, locked her village home and carrying her baby and a bag of clothes, walked through the woods for two days to reach the comparative security of a red cross feeding post. Page 9

Fury on the streets

Within hours of US election results, Iranian protesters poured onto the streets of Tehran on the 13th anniversary of the takeover of the US embassy shouting "death to America" and a United States citizen was held on spying charges. Page 11

Holy hologram

A life-size hologram of Christ in a central London church has split the congregation. According to Donald Reeves, the vicar of St James's, Piccadilly, who is known for his courageous support of the arts, some regard it as "quite powerful" but others find it weird. Page 8

TV pirates

Although satellite dishes are illegal in India, entrepreneurs are rigging up receivers so that villagers can watch foreign programmes without understanding a word but effectively destroying the government's TV censorship. Page 11

Threat of trade war as talks fail

Europe and America stepped towards a costly trade war after the failure of long-running talks on farm subsidies triggered an American demand for sanctions against European imports. The two sides were closer to a tariff battle than at any time during the six years that the world's trading states have been trying to write a new Gatt treaty. Page 1



Masked message: lecturers wearing John Major masks protesting about cuts yesterday outside the Department of Education. Page 6

BUSINESS

Clinton fear: American stock and bond prices weakened yesterday over fears of a trade war with Europe and a government spending package which president-elect Mr Bill Clinton proposes to inject into the US economy. Page 25

Staying on: Robin Leigh-Pemberton, the governor of the Bank of England, resisted calls for his resignation in the Commons yesterday over his handling of the closure of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International which was attacked in the Bingham report two weeks ago. Page 27

Markets: Shares eased as dealers responded to a dull opening on Wall Street and awaited the outcome of the Maastricht vote. The FT-SE 100 index closed down 13.9 at 2,691.7. The pound had a mixed day, slipping just over half a cent to \$1.5485 but closing up .72p at DM2.4350. Pages 25, 28

SPORT

Mixed fortunes: Australia, fielding eight of their international side, lost 21-6 to Swansea in their opening rugby union fixture in Wales. South Africa began their tour of England with a 32-9 win over the Midlands. Pages 46, 48

Bld withdrawn: South Africa has withdrawn its application to hold stage the next cricket World Cup, citing an unprecedented programme of international matches over the next two years and its commitment to the development programme for blacks. Page 48

Economic truths: Professor Sir Alan Walters takes issue with Nigel Lawson's version of the Thatcher years and his defence of ERM membership — "a Chancellor of great gifts but fatal conceits". Douglas-Jones reviews two books by members of the Benn family, and Norman Stone has a question for Keynes. Page 40

Balkan memories: Caroline Moore measures Julian Barnes's fictional account of the trial of a communist dictator against the reality in Bulgaria. John Russell Taylor admires a biography of Monet that leaves the pictures to tell the story of the inner man. Adam Zamoyski reflects on the decline of the continental aristocracy. Page 41

Cinema: Geoff Brown reviews the new, "politically correct" version of *The Last of the Mohicans* and Hal Hartley's *Simple Men*. Pick of the first week of the London Film Festival. Page 37

Theatre: Benedict Nightingale is disappointed by Peter O'Toole in Keith Waterhouse's *Our Song*, directed by Ned Sherrin. Page 37

Music: Composer Dmitri Shostakovich had a "secret" relationship with one of his pupils, Galina Ustvolskaya, previously unnamed in biographies. Page 38

No change: Cheryl Campbell very good in Michael Attenborough's vigorous revival of *The Changeling* for the RSC at Stratford. Page 39

Peace makers: Unhappy couples can seek help from family mediators to resolve their problems and to avoid acrimony and recrimination after a separation. Mediation is often better for the children caught in the middle and is cheaper than fighting in court. Page 19

Putting men and women in the same ward in hospitals might be good management and help cut waiting lists, but some patients, of all ages, are unhappy about having to share with the opposite sex. Doctors are defending the policy but is it in contravention of the Patients' Charter promise to respect privacy? Page 18

Tonight's choice

Present Imperfect follows the ups and downs of a group of Peterborough councillors through a demanding year. Page 47

Clinton's agenda

In Governor Clinton, Americans have elected a president with a passionate belief in the power of government to improve their lives and assure their children a brighter future. As candidate, Bill Clinton radiated impatience "to change America". Page 21

Vulnerable children

All children have special needs, but some have more special needs than others. The failure of the education service to cater for its most vulnerable pupils — those with learning difficulties, dyslexia, poor sight or other disability — is the most shameful blemish on its record and one that successive governments have buried in committees and murmured platitudes. Page 21

BERNARD LEVIN

The ghastly black comedy of Christopher Patten's visit to China has culminated in the face of the "secret letters". And what is the farce? They are fakes. And who has the real ones? Bernard "Scoops" Levin. Page 20

PHILIP HOWARD

That unnecessary and uncomfortable strip of ribbon that Englishmen wear, for the obsolete purpose of keeping one's shirt on, are still potent emblems to exclude, lesser breeds. Page 20

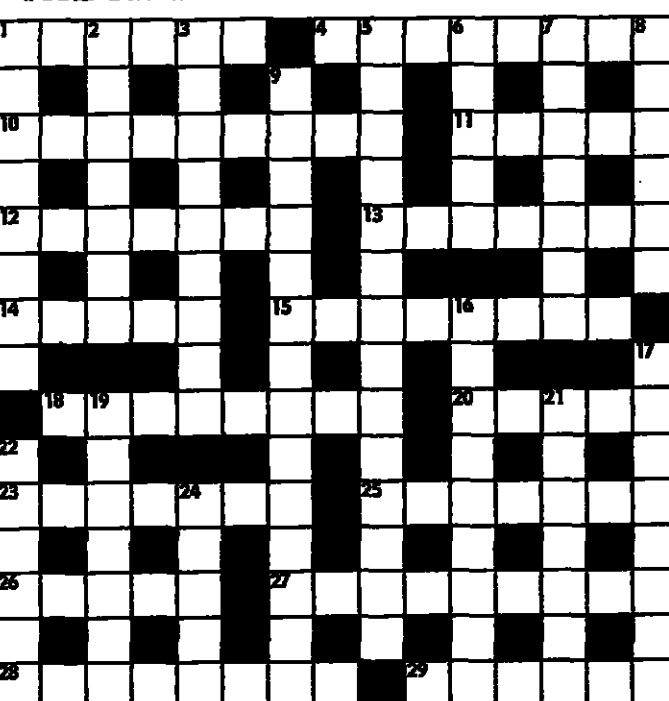
ANTHONY HOWARD

How did it come about that the Democrats should have managed to convince a wide range of American voters that they had genuinely turned over a new leaf when that was the achievement that ended Labour in Britain? Page 20

The "turmoil, divisions and distraction" over the ordination of women comes to a head on November 11 with voting at the General Synod: readers air their views. Page 21

The vote was a relentless rejection of Mr Bush's Presidency. A White House aide got it almost precisely right last week when he said: "Basically, things are pretty steady. Sixty percent of the people didn't want to re-elect him nine months ago and 60 percent don't want to elect him today." — *The New York Times*

THE TIMES CROSSWORD NO 19,068



- ACROSS**
- Withdraw for a moment to the garden now that noon has gone (6).
 - Iron hook pulled out to get at diamond (8).
 - School pecking order rashly disclosed (4,5).
 - College recess (5).
 - Interfere with alarm (7).
 - Create the latest style (7).
 - Without standing order petition is legal (5).
 - Sticking together is understandable (8).
 - Music makers include vintage blues (8).
 - Problem of a hole-in-one in France (5).
 - Stand up for player — husband or wife (7).
 - Deficient state of Horatio on the bridge (3-4).
 - Hardback in two parts (5).
- DOWN**
- Grant for cultivation (9).
 - Doubt report of female being tied up (8).
 - A way to eliminate errors in a rubber (6).
 - Timetable avoids going up round the church (8).
 - Lack of discipline implied in schoolroom is remarkably typical (7).
 - Action without a mistake failed (9).
 - Incredibly good like the angels (3,2,4,5).
 - Restraints in golf clubs (5).
 - Nothing to secure a conviction (7).
 - King's business is making decisions (6).
 - They counted for nothing in ancient Rome (6,8).
 - Newtonian thinker (9).
 - A red port drunk by huntsman (8).
 - He pours out for a Greek player (7).
 - Company head shows diffidence (7).
 - Bits of cargo dropped by planes before noon (6).
 - Son of bones found on lunar trip (5).

Solution to Puzzle No 19,067

DEVELOP A COUNTRY
MILITARY STRATEGIST
UNION OF THE WALL
BLUE PETER THING
NATIONAL REVENUE
CHASTISE BEATER
LAWYER SUE
ETERNAL NOCTURN

Concise Crossword, page 48

THE TIMES WEATHER

For the latest region by region forecast, 24 hours a day, dial 0801 500 followed by the appropriate code.

| Region | Forecast |
|--|----------|
| Greater London | 701 |
| Kent, Surrey, Sussex | 702 |
| Devon & Cornwall | 703 |
| Wilt, Gloucestershire, Somerset | 704 |
| Berkshire, Oxfordshire | 705 |
| Bedfordshire & Essex | 706 |
| Northampton, Cambridgeshire | 707 |
| West Midlands & Shropshire | 708 |
| Shropshire, Herefordshire & Worcestershire | 709 |
| Central Midlands | 710 |
| East Midlands | 711 |
| Lincolnshire & Humberside | 712 |
| Derbyshire & Leicestershire | 713 |
| Yorkshire & Cleveland | 714 |
| N.W. England | 715 |
| W. & S. Wales & Glamorgan | 716 |
| N.E. England | 717 |
| Cumbria & Lancashire | 718 |
| S.W. Scotland | 719 |
| W. Central Scotland | 720 |
| Edinburgh, Fife, Lothian & Borders | 721 |
| E. Central Scotland | 722 |
| Highland & E. Highlands | 723 |
| N.W. Scotland | 724 |
| Orkney, Shetland & S. Shetland | 725 |
| N. Ireland | 726 |

Weathercall is charged at 36p per minute (cheap rate) and 48p per minute at all other times.

AA ROADWATCH

For the latest AA traffic and road-work information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

| Region | Code |
|----------------------------------|------|
| London & SE traffic, roadworks | 731 |
| C. London (within N & S Circles) | 732 |
| M-ways/roads M4-M1 | 733 |
| M-ways/roads M1-Centinel T | 734 |
| M-ways/roads M25-M4 | 735 |
| M25 London Orbital only | 736 |

National traffic and roadworks

| Region | Code |
|--------------------|------|
| National motorways | 737 |
| West Country | 738 |
| Wales | 739 |
| Midlands | 740 |
| East Angles | 741 |
| North-west England | 742 |
| North-east England | 743 |
| Scotland | 744 |
| Northern Ireland | 745 |

AA Roadwatch is charged at 36p per minute (cheap rate) and 48p per minute at all other times.

Clue: APS/2 is proverbially the best (3,3).

Answer: Top saw.

IBM

Most places will have a cloudy start, but central, eastern and northeast England will become brighter, as will northeast Scotland. Brighter spells may develop in Northern Ireland and southwest Scotland, but most western areas will remain cloudy, rain or drizzle along coasts and hills. It will be windy in the North. Outlook: rain will push slowly south but, by the end of Saturday, most places will be dry and bright, although cooler.

MIDDAY: i=thunder, d=drizzle, f=fog, s=sun, si=severe sun, b=blaze, c=cloud, r=rain

| Area | Temp | Wind | Cloud | Notes |
|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|
| Abertawe | 6.6 | 9 | 48 | sun |
| Anglesey | 4.6 | 11 | 52 | bright |
| Armagh | 2.9 | 0.05 | 11 | bright |
| Belfast | 3.0 | 9 | 48 | bright |
| Birmingham | 5.8 | 11 | 52 | bright |
| Bolton | 6.6 | 11 | 52 | bright |
| Bournemouth | 5.1 | 13 | 56 | bright |
| Bristol | 0.57 | 11 | 56 | shower |
| Cardiff | 3.5 | 0.25 | 11 | shower |
| Carlisle | 2.6 | 0.56 | 11 | shower |
| Carmarthen | 7.6 | 11 | 52 | sun |
| Cork | 7.6 | 11 | 52 | sun |
| Crawley | 4.8 | 8 | 48 | sun |
| Dundee | 11 | 52 | 52 | sun |
| Edinburgh | 2.2 | 0.11 | 8 | shower |
| Exeter | 3.5 | 12 | 54 | bright |
| Falmouth | 2.6 | 0.39 | 10 | shower |
| Folkestone | 7.6 | 12 | 54 | sun |
| Glasgow | 3.8 | 0.10 | 10 | shower |
| Guernsey | 0.02 | 12 | 54 | cloudy |
| Hastings | 6.6 | 13 | 55 | sun |
| Heathrow | 6.6 | 13 | 55 | sun |
| Huddersfield | 5.9 | 10 | 50 | sun |
| Jersey | 0.03 | 10 | 50 | cloudy |
| Leeds | 6.0 | 0.02 | 10 | shower |
| Leicester | 1.9 | 0.25 | 7 | shower |
| Liverpool | 6.3 | 13 | 56 | sun |
| Luton | 3.2 | 0.07 | 10 | shower |
| Manchester | 6.2 | 12 | 54 | sun |
| Lowestoft | 6.2 | 10 | 50 | sun |
| Marblehead | 3.5 | 0.12 | 11 | shower |
| Middlesbrough | 7.12 | 2.8 | 7.23 | sun |
| Milford Haven | 2.94 | 0.1 | 3.10 | 8.7 |
| Murumbidgee | 3.0 | 0.34 | 11 | shower |
| Newcastle | 2.5 | 0.04 | 10 | shower |
| Newquay | 4.5 | 10 | 48 | shower |
| Norwich | 4.2 | 13 | 55 | bright |
| Nottingham | 6.8 | 0.16 | 10 | shower |
| Perth | 4.8 | 13 | 55 | bright |
| Plymouth | 3.7 | 12 | 54 | bright |
| Portsmouth | 4.8 | 13 | 55 | bright |
| Reading | 6.0 | 0.32 | 10 | shower |
| Sheffield | 3.8 | 0.02 | 13 | 55 |
| Southampton | 6.9 | 0.01 | 10 | shower |
| Southend | 6.9 | 0.01 | 10 | shower |
| Souths | 7.0 | 12 | 54 | sun |
| Stirling | 6.0 | 0.16 | 13 | 55 |
| Stroud | 5.5 | 12 | 54 | sun |
| Swansea | 2.7 | 0.32 | 13 | 55 |
| Torquay | 4.8 | 13 | 55 | sun |
| Walsingham | 2.7 | 0.32 | 13 | 55 |
| Wick | 5.8 | 0.06 | 7 | shower |

LONDON

Yesterday: Temp: max 6am to 6pm, 13C (55F); min 6pm to 6am, 7C (45F). Humidity: 50%, 75% per cent. Rain: 24hr to 6pm, nil. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 5.0 hr. Bar: mean sea level, 6pm, 1,027.0 millibars, rising. 1,000 millibars = 29.53 in.

TODAY'S HIGHEST & LOWEST

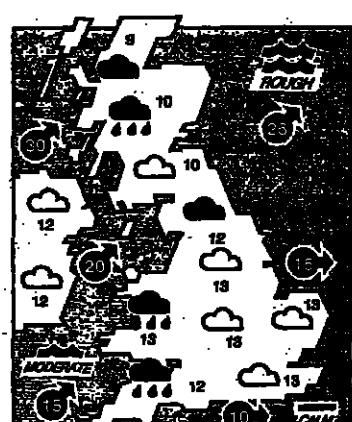
Tomorrow: Highest day temp: Torquay, Devon, 13C (55F); lowest day temp: Lough, Shetland, 7C (45F); highest night temp: Cardiff, 5.59m; lowest night temp: Southampton, 2.8 hr.

TODAY'S HIGHEST & LOWEST

Yesterday: Temp: max 6am to 6pm, 12C (54F); min 6pm to 6am, 5C (41F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 0.01 in. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, 2.8 hr.

Yesterday: Temp: max 6am to 6pm, 10C (50F); min 6pm to 6am, 5C (41F). Rain: 24hr to 6pm, 0.17 in. Sun: 24hr to 6pm, nil.

TODAY



TODAY

London 4.26 pm to 7.03 am
Bristol 4.36 pm to 7.13 am
Edinburgh 4.24 pm to 7.31 am
Manchester 4.26 pm to 7.15 am
Penzance 4.52 pm to 7.21 am

Full moon November 10

Sun sets 7.02 am
Moon sets 1.36 am

TODAY

| Area | Temp | Wind | Cloud | Notes |
|-------------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| London | 8.31 | 5.8 | 10.23 | 5.9 |
| Abertawe | 2.9 | 0.1 | 3.10 | 8.7 |
| Armagh | 7.12 | 2.8 | 7.23 | 3.0 |
| Belfast | 2.94 | 0.1 | 3.10 | 8.7 |
| Birmingham | 1.94 | 4.3 | 1.28 | 4.8 |
| Bolton | 7.16 | 5.4 | 7.57 | 5.4 |
| Bournemouth | 12.34 | 4.1 | 12.38 | 4.4 |
| Bristol | 6.51 | 4.1 | 9.13 | 4.3 |
| Cardiff | 7.26 | 3.2 | 8.25 | 3.4 |
| Carmarthen | 6.56 | 4.4 | 7.00 | 4.7 |
| Cork | 1.45 | 5.8 | 3.08 | 5.8 |
| Dundee | 1.51 | 6.8 | 2.25 | 7.3 |
| Edinburgh | 2.07 | 5.0 | 3.04 | 5.0 |
| Exeter | 10.50 | 4.5 | 10.54 | 4.5 |

Tide in metres: 1m=3.2808ft.

Information supplied by Met Office

TODAY'S HIGHEST & LOWEST

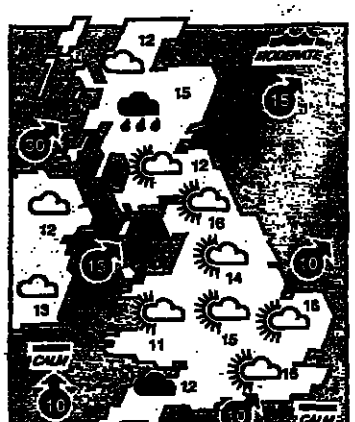
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TODAY



TODAY

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Penzance 4.52 pm to 7.21 am

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| Belfast | 2.94 | 0.1 | 3.10 | 8.7 |
| Birmingham | 1.94 | 4.3 | 1.28 | 4.8 |
| Bolton | 7.16 | 5.4 | 7.57 | 5.4 |
| Bournemouth | 12.34 | 4.1 | 12.38 | 4.4 |
| Bristol | 6.51 | 4.1 | 9.13 | 4.3 |
| Cardiff | 7.26 | 3.2 | 8.25 | 3.4 |
| Carmarthen | 6.56 | 4.4 | 7.00 | 4.7 |
| Cork | 1.45 | 5.8 | 3.08 | 5.8 |
| Dundee | 1.51 | 6.8 | 2.25 | 7.3 |
| Edinburgh | 2.07 | 5.0 | 3.04 | 5.0 |
| Exeter | 10.50 | 4.5 | 10.54 | 4.5 |

Tide in metres: 1m=3.2808ft.

Information supplied by Met Office

TODAY'S HIGHEST & LOWEST



ARTS 39

Putting the vamp back into vampires



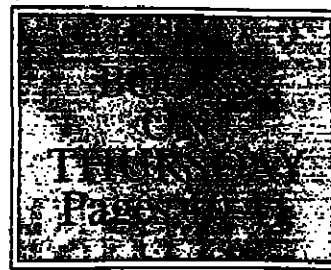
GOLF 43

Steven Richardson leads England's World Cup drive



TENNIS 44

Andrew Castle calls an end to playing days



THE TIMES 2

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 5 1992

Wall Street cool on Clinton

By PHILIP ROBINSON
ROSS TIEMAN
AND PATRICIA TEHAN

AMERICAN share and bond prices weakened yesterday over fears of a trade war with Europe and a government spending package that the president-elect, Bill Clinton, proposes to inject into the American economy.

The Dow Jones industrial index staged a 30-point turnaround within three hours. From a 14-point early rally it fell to 15 points down on the day, but by lunchtime recovered to stand 6.23 lower at 3,246.25. The index was last night about 70 points higher than at the start of the "Clinton rally," a month ago,

but 160 points down from its peak this year. Bond prices fell by between 25 cents and 50 cents, nudging market interest rates higher. David Shuman, chief equity strategist with Salomon Brothers, the investment bank, said: "The market's going sideways. I don't think we'll have a big rally."

"I'm bullish on Clinton short-term, I think the risks are likely later unless there is a foreign crisis which is the wildcard. There could be an international crisis in Russia or the Middle East and now Gatt. If that blows, then the most important event on Tuesday was the Gatt talks breaking down, not the US election."

American recovery. Since 1985, they say, 40 per cent of US growth has come from exports. Leslie Alperstein, political analyst for County NatWest, the US investment bank, said: "Whether Clinton has to spend a lot or a little in fiscal stimulus depends on the recovery of the economy without his help."

A continuing recovery would calm the bond markets and with the Clinton victory already in the stock market investors will resume their attention on stocks which will benefit from that recovery," Mr Alperstein added.

In London, first reactions to the presidential election were mixed. While the arrival of a new administration in the White House may assist a

general North American economic recovery, Mr Clinton will come under strong pressure from his party to finance increased social spending by cutting defence budgets.

But the immense scale of United Kingdom corporate investment in the United States makes many companies' earnings sensitive to policy shifts by the incoming administration. Imperial Chemical Industries, for example, has operations in 29 American states.

Martin Taylor, a director of the Hanson conglomerate, welcomed Mr Clinton's victory because it removed uncertainty, adding: "If Mr Bush had got back in we might have been just as happy."

David Sainsbury, chairman and chief executive of J Sainsbury, which has a food retailing business in New England, believes his business will benefit from the election result. "I think the Clinton victory will probably lead to a more competent economic policy which would lead to the economy coming out of recession more quickly," he said.

Mr Taylor was unworried by suggestions that the Democrats might increase corporate taxes. "We pay material taxes in America," he said. "We do not have any particular concerns about that." Hanson is likely to emerge as a winner from Mr Clinton's promise to spend an extra \$20 billion a year on infrastructure. The company is America's second biggest aggregates producer

and a big cement manufacturer in California.

Another winner should be Evered Bardon, the building materials company, which has about half its business in America.

Mr Clinton's proposals to knock \$60 billion off the Bush defence budget will provoke alarm in some companies, however. One analyst said that Smiths Industries has a high exposure to the US defence department.

Rolls-Royce, the aero-engine maker, is also exposed to the proposed defence cuts, as is British Aerospace. However, BAE's contract to supply Goshawk training jets to the US Navy is likely to be secure as the navy has decided to standardise on them. Drug

companies, big dollar earners already, are largely resigned to a tougher pricing regime.

A spokesman for Wellcome said: "We believe that either Bush or Clinton coming in would lead to continued review of pharmaceutical companies." But Mr Clinton, as a Democrat, was likely to be the more stringent of the two.

Wellcome believes it will be less affected than other companies more reliant on older or generic drugs because of its intensive research programme. "He's not given any indication that he would do anything other than support companies whose primary policy is the introduction of new therapies."

Comment, page 29

BUSINESS TODAY

POWER PLAY



Professor Stephen Littlechild, the electricity regulator, told MPs that he has not "copped out" of his duty to the industry. Page 27

STAYING PUT

Robin Leigh-Pemberton, has rejected calls for his resignation over the Bank of England's role in the BCCI affair. Page 27

RUN DOWN

Short-time working at Mercedes-Benz is the latest bad news for the German vehicle industry. Page 31

ACCOUNTANCY



Auditors turned finance directors should take time out before crossing over, writes Robert Bruce. Page 35

THE POUND

US dollar 1.5505 (+0.0013)
German mark 2.4335 (+0.0040)
Exchange index 78.6 (+0.2)
Bank of England official close (4pm)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 share 1999.7 (-7.5)
FT-SE 100 2691.7 (-13.9)
New York Dow Jones 3243.84 (-8.64)
Tokyo Nikkei Avg 17065.20 (+211.84)

INTEREST RATES

London Bank Base 8%
3-month interbank 7 3/4%
3-month sterling bill 6 3/4%-6 1/2%
US Prime Rate 8%
Federal Funds 3%
3-month Treasury Bill 3 02-3.00%
30-year bonds 8 1/4%-9%

CURRENCY

London: New York
£ \$1.5505
£ DM 2.4335
£ Sfr 2.1787
£ FF 6.5596
£ Yen 161.05
Index 78.6
ECU 16.80156
ECU 1.23695
London Forex market close

GOLD

London Gold: AM \$338.90 PM \$337.60
Close \$337.20-337.70
\$217.80-218.30
New York: COMEX \$337.75-338.25

NORTH SEA OIL

Brent (Nov) \$19.00/bbl (\$19.40)

RETAIL PRICES

RPI: 138.4 September (1987=100)
* Denotes midday trading price

Brussels ready to retaliate

Fears of trade war rise after Gatt sanctions impasse

By TOM WALKER AND COLIN NARBROUGH

FRESH fears of a trade war emerged last night after a disagreement between the US and the ruling council of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The Gatt ruling-council, meeting in Geneva, failed to agree on Washington's request to be allowed to impose sanctions on the EC. The European Commission earlier said there was little prospect of Bill Clinton's election victory diminishing the prospect of a transatlantic trade war over oilseeds, such as rape and linseed, a dispute that falls outside the scope of the stalled Uruguay round.

A Gatt spokesman said the next opportunity for the American and EC trade envoys to take up the oilseeds issues within the Gatt framework would be in the first week of December. "Any unilateral action in the meantime would be clearly in breach of Gatt rules," he said.

Frans Andriessen, the EC's external relations commissioner, confirmed that Brussels was preparing to retaliate if Washington imposes import tariffs of 100 per cent on \$1 billion worth of EC farm produce. "If we have to counter-retaliate, of course we will do it in proportion, but not disproportionately," the Dutch official said.

Mr Andriessen said he was very surprised by comments made by Rufus Yerxa, the US ambassador to the Gatt in Geneva, earlier in the day. Mr Yerxa had referred to the "manifest unwillingness of the EC" to abide by multilateral Gatt rules. In Washington, US trade officials said the tariffs on EC goods would be applied, but would only come into effect in 30 days' time. Despite the worries of consumer and business groups, Mr Andriessen said the trade war would not spiral out of control. "As far as consumers are concerned I don't see the problem," he said. The Dutch commissioner reluctantly con-

ceded that, for the moment at least, the negotiations to secure a new world trade agreement under Gatt are blocked by the dispute between Washington and Brussels over oilseeds production.

He complained that even though the Community wants oilseeds to be considered separately to Gatt itself, it has offered to cut production significantly, only to see its every effort rejected by the Edward Madigan, the American agriculture secretary. It was this obstinacy, he said, that had again led to a breakdown in talks in Chicago on Tuesday night, while the world's attention was focused on the presidential election results.

Mr Andriessen refused to write off all hopes of a Gatt deal this year, but said the next move is up to the Americans. "We have tried to reach the reasonable requirements of our American friends," he said. "We are prepared to continue to negotiate; any constructive proposal from their side will be used by us. We remain fully convinced that a successful conclusion of the Uruguay round is in the interests of all of us."

Never one of the commission's more dynamic performers in public, Mr Andriessen was not prepared to say why

the oilseeds negotiations had broken down, but the best hope for Brussels now is clearly to get oilseeds off the Gatt agenda somehow. That way the Gatt negotiations can be freed from the transatlantic grip they find themselves in at the moment, and the US and the EC can get down to resolving their many disputes.

Oilseeds would be added to a list that includes steel, financial services, aircraft industry subsidies and coal. On these trade issues in general, Mr Andriessen said he doubted that President Clinton's tune would be any different to President Bush's. "During the election campaign, Mr Clinton has made some demands on trade. I have drawn from these the conclusion that the US will continue with the line that it has taken over the last few years," he said.

Perhaps the most damaging of these disputes will be in the steel sector, where Washington is threatening to put countervailing and anti-dumping duties on imports of flat steel from the EC. It will reach a preliminary decision at the end of the month. Eurofer, which groups the EC's main steel producers, claims that 2.5 million tonnes, or 1 billion euros' worth, of EC steel will be affected. British firms hit will include both British Steel and United Engineering Steels.

In financial services, Sir Leon Brittan, competition commissioner, is looking for reciprocal access for EC institutions in the US market along the lines of the reforms he has pushed through in the Community for the 1993 barrier-free market.

Commission officials involved in all these trade disputes yesterday doubted that Mr Clinton's inauguration will make any real difference. Many noted that Washington had deemed the EC to be in breach of US trade laws, and Mr Clinton was unlikely to repeal these.



Madigan: rejected efforts



No sign of victory: one of the Maxwell pensioners who joined yesterday's rally to the House of Commons

Maxwell pensioners lobby Parliament

By ANGELA MACKAY

MORE than 1,000 Maxwell pensioners and print workers lobbied Parliament yesterday calling for government action to give them long-term pension security.

Pensioners of Maxwell Communication and private Maxwell company schemes complained on the eve of the first anniversary of Robert Maxwell's death that they still did not know how long their pensions would be paid. Ken Trench, chairman of the Maxwell Pensioners Action Group, said the government should take over the legal battle to reclaim millions of pounds that the late publisher Robert Maxwell plundered from pension funds.

A government emergency fund to pay some pensioners but the £2.5 million fund is expected to be exhausted by March. The Maxwell Pensioners Trust, chaired by Sir

John Cuckney, is also making some ex-gratia payments from the £6 million raised so far.

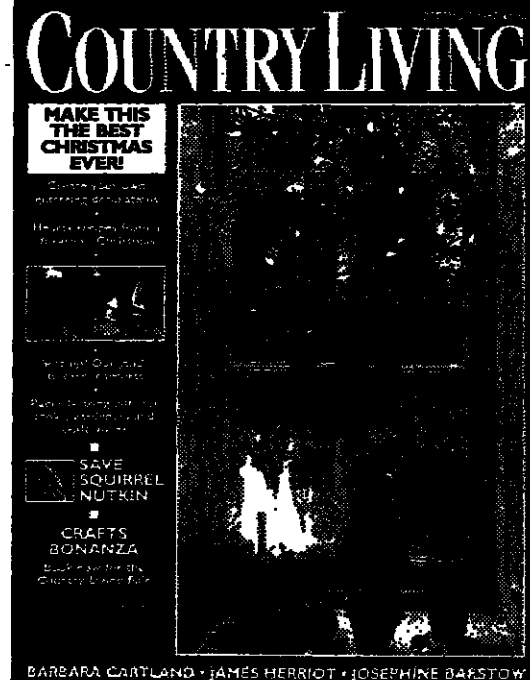
Pensioners of Mirror Group Newspapers have had their pensions confirmed by the company, which is replenishing the fund over 14 years.

Representatives of British International Helicopters, however, served a writ against Charles Wilson, group managing director of MGN, demanding the return of £12 million in cash and interest allegedly removed from their pension fund by Mr Maxwell.

Peter Lilley, social security secretary, said the government had taken "substantial measures" to help the pensioners. But he added: "No government could accept an obligation to use taxpayers' money to make good all losses resulting from fraud."

City watchdogs, page 29

No tinsel but lots of sparkle



Splendid yet simple decorations to make at home

Inventive no-fuss Christmas Day menu from a Yorkshire farmhouse

PLUS Kaffe Fassett workshop, tickets for the ballet and The Country Living Fair

Jocasta Innes, Heather Couper, Lucinda Lambton and the man who knits with dog hair - join them for a country Christmas

DECEMBER ISSUE ON SALE NOW

WHEN YOUR HEART IS IN THE COUNTRY

Fears of US tax crackdown subside

By JON ASHWORTH

FEARS of a big tax crackdown on British subsidiaries in America in the wake of Bill Clinton's victory appear to have been overplayed. However, steps to tighten up the existing tax regime will lead to higher taxes and British companies, which represent half of all foreign investment in America, are urged to prepare.

During campaigning, Mr Clinton said he would raise \$45 billion in additional tax revenue from foreign companies between 1993 and 1996 to combat the budget deficit. But accountants say the threat of punitive new taxes appears remote. Jeff Wehner, senior tax manager at Arthur Andersen, said: "I don't think British companies should press the panic

button just yet." John Fairley, partner in charge of Ernst & Young's international tax group, said it was "highly unlikely" that Mr Clinton will be able to raise the \$45 billion, but businessmen should plan ahead.

Alan Reid, senior tax partner at KPMG Peat Marwick, said the drive towards tougher taxes could take three fronts. First is a clampdown on transfer pricing under which companies endeavour to cut taxes payable in America by manufacturing outside in low tax economies and selling into the US market at a high price. The goods are then sold by American subsidiaries at low margins that attract minimal taxation.

Second is a clampdown on "thin capitalisation" under which foreign companies finance their US invest-

ments on a typical ratio of three parts debt to one part equity and take a US tax deduction on the interest.

Third, foreign companies may be obliged to pay capital gains tax on the disposal of shares in their US subsidiaries. "This would be particularly bad news for the British," Mr Reid said. "Under existing tax treaties, Britain and Australia are the only two countries which would have no relief if this came in."

Terry Symons, a tax partner at Price Waterhouse, gives more weight to the issue of transfer pricing. "It is more important than ever for UK companies to be sure that they have got their transfer prices right. Not only will companies face the prospect of huge US tax bills and penalties for getting it wrong, but the UK inland

Revenue will be taking particular interest to make sure that there is no loss of UK tax."

Mark Rachleff, a US international tax specialist with Coopers & Lybrand, said: "Clinton has said he will seek more vigorous enforcement of current law by recruiting more people."

Stephen McMellon, a specialist in cross-border taxation at Robson Rhodes, said: "Our advice (to British companies) is don't let it put you off acquiring a US business on commercial grounds, but be aware that you are facing a much harsher regulatory environment with big penalties for non-compliance."

US elections, pages 12-17
Anthony Howard, page 20
Leading article, page 21

Sainsbury still beats counter attractions

FOOD retailing analysts are sometimes hard to please. Another set of faultless figures ahead of most forecasts from J Sainsbury, still the clear market leader, sent the share price into an 18p reverse to 487p.

Sainsbury is the victim of its own success, in stock market terms at least. Since spring, when the company first outstripped Marks and Spencer as Britain's most profitable retailer, the shares have climbed from below £4 to a new high, just before the interim figures, of 510p.

Against a background of recession, Sainsbury's food stores pushed like-for-like sales growth up 3.7 per cent, well ahead of a price inflation rate of 3 per cent. The equivalent sales increase in the larger outlets of more than 250,000 sq ft was 8 per cent. Market share increased faster than that of arch-rival Tesco and there was no sign of the effects of aggressive discounting that were a feature of that company's half-way figures in September.

Shaw's, the New England operation, continues to underperform — not surprising since the recession in New England has accounted for 30 per cent of US job losses.

After reporting half-way pre-tax profits ahead 19 per cent to £391.1 million, David Sainsbury, the new chairman, was cautious over prospects

for the rest of the year, which will have to compete with a one-off boost last time from the advent of Sunday trading and the acceptance of credit cards. This, and a higher tax charge that will restrict earnings growth, has discouraged the analysts, even though Nick Bubb at Morgan Stanley, for example, is raising his pre-tax estimate for the year by £7 million to £735 million. This puts the shares on 17 times this year's earnings, and some switching into Argyl, on 14 times, or Tesco, on 11 times, is likely short-term. Outside that, the shares remain a core holding.

BAT Industries

ONCE again Sir Patrick Sheehy has been happy to report that BAT Industries' profits have gone up in puffs of smoke. For the results for the nine months to end-September confirm that, for now, it is tobacco that is fuelling BAT's remarkable renaissance.

In a supposedly mature market, tobacco has posted a 16 per cent increase in trading profits to a record £805 million, where it accounts for almost two-thirds of the £1.2 billion group trading profit. The improvement is apparently across the board, with exports to the Far East and Eastern Europe rising 25 per cent to account for one-fifth of



Improved outlook: Sir Patrick Sheehy of BAT sees a brighter future in America

total volumes and Brown & Williamson, in the United States, putting on volume, turnover and profit despite a recession-led shift

downmarket. But if tobacco is the good news for today, financial services looks on course to provide the gloss for tomorrow. True, provisions on domestic mortgage indemnity business written by Eagle Star are still running at £25 million a quarter, but the general underwriting performance is improving fast. Eagle Star's pre-

tax losses were cut from £248 million to £66 million, enabling more tobacco profits to be set against advance corporation tax and cutting the tax rate on pre-tax profits of £1.027 billion from 53.9 per cent to 42.5 per cent. In America, Farmers Group pointed the way to what Sir Patrick is convinced is a brighter future, with an 18 per cent increase in trading profits to £305 million. With pre-tax profits up 56 per cent and earnings per share up 105 per cent to

35.9p, expectations for BAT are, to say the least, high. Forecasts for this year are edging over £1.6 billion, with £2 billion plus possible the year after. At 914p and despite a price-earnings multiple approaching 16, the shares are not out of puff yet.

TDG

THE management at Transport Development Group will be relieved to close the book on a misjudged American adventure. The sale of Willig

Freight Lines in California may have blown a hole in the balance sheet but at least it will allow the group to concentrate on developing in Britain and Europe. They might be less pleased if they paused to consider the full cost.

On paper, it appears that TDG has walked away from Willig with barely a scratch. The group paid \$14.5 million in 1981 and is selling for \$17.3 million. The £15 million extraordinary provision already taken takes account of additional investment, the rise in asset prices and recent losses. Willig was never large enough to compete on a national scale and TDG showed no appetite to expand.

The main damage TDG suffered from its starry-eyed westward expansion was a loss of momentum at home. In 1983, the group made a profit of £21 million pre-tax, compared with only £12 million from NFC, its main rival. Since then, while TDG has been occupied with troubles elsewhere, NFC has developed new markets and exploited higher margin transportation business. This year, NFC is expected to make £90 million, while TDG should bring in just £36 million. Even this may be optimistic and makes the forward earnings multiple of 15 look generous.

Consortium extends deadline for ITN offer

THE consortium bidding to take over ITN has extended the deadline for its offer for the television news company after last-minute negotiations failed to produce agreement. The bidders, led by Carlton Communications, originally set a deadline of 3pm yesterday for their conditional offer, which would involve taking a majority stake in ITN in return for a £30 million cash injection.

The investor group agreed to extend the offer period until November 18 to allow possible amendments to the offer to be explored. Negotiations have stalled because existing ITN shareholders such as Thames, Granada and Yorkshire are unhappy with the consortium's offer of £1 a share.

Burnfield shares slump

SHARES in Burnfield, the specialist engineering group, tumbled 80p to 85p on a warning that profits for the year to end-December will be below market expectations. A substantial decline in order levels in September at two of Burnfield's three businesses has forced directors to revise their forecast of rising profits in the second half. The board intends to recommend an unchanged dividend of 4.1p a share, subject to unforeseen circumstances.

Burmah completes sale

BURMAH Castrol has completed the disposal of the non-core businesses of Foseco, the specialty chemicals business acquired for £270 million in late 1990, raising more than £60 million. Burmah yesterday announced the sale of Celmac, a manufacturer of toilet seats, to management for £3 million. Agreement has also been reached for the sale of Foseco's investment in Carborundum Universal, a manufacturer of ceramics and grinding wheels, for £2.7 million.

Securicor in Russia

RUSSIA'S move towards a market economy has prompted Securicor to launch a joint venture security company in St Petersburg. Securicor Okhrana St Petersburg has been set up with four Russian partners and the British subsidiary of a Finnish bank. Securicor has a 32 per cent interest in the venture. The Russian company will transport cash and valuable goods, guard warehouses and monitor burglar alarms.

Low & Bonar closure

LOW & BONAR, the packaging and plastics group, is cutting 32 jobs with the closure of a factory in Dundee. Production of non-woven materials business will be concentrated in America. The loss-making Bonar Carrelle factory, which makes fabrics, is to shut at the end of the year at a cost of about £4.5 million. Bonar Inc, the Canadian subsidiary, reported a fall in net income for the nine months to August 29 from C\$4.95 million to C\$3.06 million.

German jobs gloom

DEEPENING gloom over the west German economy pushed up unemployment in October for the first time in eight years and the underlying jobs trend is again downward. Heinrich Franke, head of the federal labour office, said. Seasonally adjusted figures took the jobless rate in west Germany to 6 per cent from 5.8 per cent in September. Eastern German unemployment fell, but only thanks to official work schemes.

Bid for Ansbacher

FIRST National Bank, the leading South African bank, has launched a long-awaited £60 million agreed bid for Henry Ansbacher, the small City merchant bank. First National is buying a 73 per cent stake in the bank from Pargesa, the European investment group, and Wafra Intervest, the Kuwait-controlled investment group, at 30.5p a share. But Ansbacher's board has won a better price for the minority shareholders, who are being offered 32p a share.

Union says TSB plans staff cuts

By OUR CITY STAFF

TSB, the banking group, is to cut 440 jobs, many by compulsory redundancy, according to the Banking, Insurance and Finance Union.

The cuts will hit 80 senior managers, 150 branch managers, 120 computer staff and 90 clerical staff and could take effect before Christmas, union representatives said.

The branch manager jobs are said to be going as part of a reorganisation which Bifu believes will lead to more job losses. Jennifer Cole, Bifu negotiating officer, said: "These job cuts are totally indefensible and will also damage customer service."

"Surplus staff are being identified as unwanted and told that if redeployment is not possible within 28 days they could then be sacked just before Christmas."

Staff will hold meetings over the next few weeks to decide how to respond to the plan.

Volvo to cut 4,000 jobs as sales fall

FROM REUTERS IN STOCKHOLM

ALMOST 4,000 jobs are to go at Volvo, which is cutting costs in the face of a sharp decline in demand for cars and trucks.

More than 1,600 jobs are to go with the closure of assembly lines at Uddevalla and Kalmar. Volvo will concentrate production at its Torslanda plant.

Lennart Jansson, managing director, said: "The decision feels heavy and sad, not least because the employees have done an excellent job in making the company competitive, but we cannot make more cars than we sell and measures are necessary to secure the continued survival of Volvo Car Corporation."

Volvo's truck division is also cutting the number of blue-collar workers by 1,040 and the number of white-collar workers by 940. At end of 1991 Volvo employed a total of 43,600 people in Sweden.

Japanese trade surplus rises 25% to record

FROM REUTERS IN TOKYO

JAPAN'S trade surplus hit a record high of \$13.58 billion in September, up 25.1 per cent from \$10.85 billion a year earlier.

The finance ministry said the current account of the balance of payments scored the second-biggest surplus — \$12.05 billion — in September, after March this year. Exports climbed to \$30.821 billion from \$26.958 billion a year ago, while imports edged up to \$17.244 billion from \$16.106 billion.

"This is going to be a new ball game for the Japanese now that the Democrats are in power," said Paul Summer-ville, economist at Jardine.

Fleming Securities. "The surplus is going to be near the top of Clinton's trade agenda."

The bilateral gap between Japan and America had been fairly steady but now appears set to grow about 20 per cent, some economists say.

Despite years of hard bargaining under two Republican administrations, Japan's 1992 current account surplus with the world appears likely to exceed \$100 billion, surpassing the record \$87 billion in 1987. Japan's unadjusted trade balance for the first half of this year showed the surplus widening to \$66.27 billion from a revised \$51.10 billion a year ago.

BAT INDUSTRIES

Earnings per share up 105% in nine months

Nine months unaudited results to 30 September 1992

| | | |
|--------------------|----------|-------|
| REVENUE | £14,457m | +3% |
| PRE-TAX PROFIT | £1,027m | +56% |
| EARNINGS PER SHARE | 35.9p | +105% |

- Record nine months tobacco profit of £805 million, up 16 per cent. Export volumes 25 per cent higher.
- Financial services trading profit of £376 million; continued recovery at Eagle Star and further progress at Farmers.
- "I expect the 9 per cent dividend increase achieved at the half year to be at least maintained for the year as a whole."

Sir Patrick Sheehy, Chairman

Power regulator comes under fire from MPs

By PATRICIA TESHAN

PROFESSOR Stephen Littlechild, the electricity regulator, has absolved himself of all responsibility over the future of the British coal mining industry in his evidence to the select committee, which is examining the government's pit closure programme.

Professor Littlechild, director general of the Office of Electricity Regulation, came in for criticism from MPs at the hearing yesterday for his approach to regulation. He defined his role as protector of the electricity consumer and, in the long-term, considering future price controls.

Asked whether, as a regulator, he had a responsibility not just to the consumer, but to the electricity industry as a whole, he said he sympathised with

Decisions on the long-term future of coal mines lie with the trade secretary and British Coal and not the electricity industry regulator, argues Prof Stephen Littlechild

events in the coal industry and was mindful of the possibility of pit closures, but it was his job to see that electricity customers were adequately protected and to ensure the most effective electricity production. Responsibility for decisions on the long-term future of the coal industry lay with the trade secretary and British Coal, he said.

Cranley Onslow, Conservative MP for Woking, described his comments as "a cop out". Professor Littlechild said it was for the electricity companies "to take account of the

effects of their decisions" to buy gas-fired power instead of power from coal generators. However, he did say that it was important to look at the future consequences of what the companies were doing. "It is in the commercial interest of all the companies to look ahead," he said, adding that coal mines in Britain should be given "a fair chance to compete" and should not be "disadvantaged by situations elsewhere in the industry".

There have been suggestions that some regional companies have signed long-term contracts with independent gas generators even though prices are higher than they would pay for coal-fired power, planning to pass on the higher cost to their customers.

Professor Littlechild disputed suggestions that he should examine every contract signed by the regional companies. "It is the responsibility of the regional companies to purchase their electricity economically and it is my job to make sure that they are doing it," he said.

"It is not possible to see whether a company has purchased economically by looking at a single contract. It is necessary to look at the whole strategy that the company has adopted."

Dr Michael Clark, Conservative MP for Rochford and former chairman of the now defunct energy select committee, was critical of Professor Littlechild for not moving more quickly to examine the regional electricity companies' power buying contracts.

Professor Littlechild said that although the companies were permitted to pass on a large part of the price they pay to the consumer, "they know I intend to tighten up that control. They know that if they have not purchased economically they will not be able to expect to pass on the additional costs to customers". He said he could force them to refund the customer if they violated the price condition.

Union claims ten stations will close

By ROSS TIEHAN, INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

TEN coal-fired power stations will shut and a further 3,000 jobs will be lost if British Coal's plans to close 31 pits are not reversed, an electricity industry union leader said.

Cliff Dawber, chief power industry negotiator for the ABEU engineering and electrical union, named ten plants which his shop stewards believe will close.

Eight power stations on the list already face partial shutdown under capacity reductions announced by National Power and PowerGen, Britain's two big generating companies.

But the union claimed that two other PowerGen stations, including the more modern Kingsnorth plant in Kent, could also be hit.

Dougie Rooney, ABEU officer for the electricity supply industry, said large coastal plants such as Kingsnorth, which can readily use imported coal, were also threatened. He suggested that the generators would be obliged by the coal purchase contract they are now negotiating with British Coal to concentrate generation

at their inland plants closest to coal mines in order to minimise transport costs.

National Power has already made public its intention to close 4,000 to 5,000 megawatts of generating capacity over the next three years. A spokesman said: "We have not identified either the timing or the plants that may face future closure."

A PowerGen spokesman said his company had "no further plans to close stations at present".

The three PowerGen plants on the ABEU list are Castle Donington, Leicestershire (already set for closure next March), High Marnham, Nottinghamshire, and Kingsnorth, Kent.

The National Power plants are Willington A and B in Leicestershire, Aberthaw A and Unknoth in south Wales, Rugeley A in Staffordshire, Skelton Grange in the North east and Agincourt in the North west.

With the exception of Kingsnorth, a 2,000 megawatt station commissioned in 1970, all the plants are 30 or more years old.



Taking flak: Stephen Littlechild faced criticism while giving evidence to the trade and industry select committee

Court action on phantom withdrawals

By SARA MCCONNELL

BANKS and building societies could face court action by up to 250,000 people who are in dispute with their banks over "phantom" withdrawals from cashpoint machines.

J Keith Park, the Merseyside solicitor, is to issue a summons of direction on Friday, which should result in a hearing in about three weeks' time.

It will ask the court to order banks and building societies to write to all their customers telling them of the impending court action and asking them to join with the proposed court action if they have had problems with disputed cash withdrawals.

At the moment, people can only make a claim for breach of confidence or negligence within six years, but J Keith Park is hoping to get this extended to ten years in this case.

The solicitor is already acting on behalf of 400 people who are disputing cashpoint withdrawals but says an order to banks to communicate with all their customers could bring the total to 250,000.

Nick Davis, solicitor at J Keith Park, said: "This is the only way to find out how many people are affected." He added: "The more people involved, the cheaper it will be. We are trying to keep up pressure on the banks. In the past, no cases have gone to court because of the costs."

HK Land to boost stake in Trafalgar with option

By OUR BANKING CORRESPONDENT

HONGKONG Land has launched a novel share option scheme to help increase its stake in Trafalgar House, the engineering and construction group, to almost 30 per cent.

The company has written a call option, which allows it to buy up to 36 million Trafalgar shares — 5.2 per cent — by February 3. It has also written a put option, allowing an unnamed counter-party to sell it up to 67 million shares in the next six months.

The option scheme follows the failure of HK Land's tender offer for 15 per cent of Trafalgar. The group has repeatedly said it wants to increase its stake in Trafalgar to 29 per cent but cannot pay more than 85p a share under stock exchange rules covering the tender offer.

Until now, however, the company found it impossible to buy more shares in the market since any report that it was bidding would have sent the price above 85p. If it succeeds in exercising its call option, its stake will top 20 per cent and allow the group to equity account Trafalgar's profits.

The deal means the options counter-party will be able to buy shares quietly before selling them to HK Land. The group yesterday refused to reveal the identity of the other party or the conditions in the contracts. Trafalgar's shares fell 1p to 83p despite the possibility that a buyer may soon be in the market.

The operation is also free since the price of the first call option has been cancelled out by a fee the group has earned from writing the put option.

Sainsbury beats recession with £391m

By MARTIN WALLER, DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

J SAINSBURY, Britain's biggest grocer and most profitable retailer, turned in another recession-beating performance for the 28 weeks to September 26, sending pre-tax profits ahead from £327.5 million to £391.1 million and increasing the interim dividend by 0.3p to 2.7p a share.

David Sainsbury, the chairman and chief executive of the business since Monday, said the figures should be seen against a background of a harsh economic climate in Britain and America and food inflation at its lowest level for five years.

Sales growth from the group's food stores and Savacentre hypermarkets was

12.8 per cent, 9.1 percentage points provided by new stores. Numbers into the stores were ahead by 8.5 per cent to a weekly total of 8 million customers, and market share had risen by 0.8 percentage points to 11 per cent, its largest increase for more than ten years.

Sunday shopping had helped to increase sales, with more than a million customers a week, although it was only marginally profitable.

The average spend increased marginally, suggesting that customers were not cutting back on their purchases in the recession, Mr Sainsbury said.

"People are not trading

down, but they are not trading up as fast," he conceded.

Gross margins at the food stores and Savacentre, already the envy of the food retailing industry, were enhanced further, up from 7.5 per cent to 7.9 per cent.

Sainsbury shares reacted with an 18p fall to 487p as investors took profits after their strong run this summer, although the figures were ahead of City expectations.

The group continues to struggle with Shaw's, its American operation, where operating profits were 16.5 per cent lower at \$21.4 million. Mr Sainsbury said there was no intention to exit the American market. "We think

there are very large opportunities in America for an operation like Shaw's. We're certainly going to hang onto it and develop it — we remain very confident."

The pre-tax profits rise for the group as a whole came despite a fall in capitalised interest of almost £8 million. Even though capital investment totalled £384 million, set to rise to £800 million for the full year, Sainsbury saw a net cash inflow in the first half of £53 million and, despite this rising rate of spending, gearing should remain at about 18 per cent by the year end, Mr Sainsbury said.

Tempos, page 26

Governor resists resignations

By NEIL BENNETT, BANKING CORRESPONDENT

ROBIN Leigh-Pemberton, the governor of the Bank of England, resisted calls for his resignation in the House of Commons yesterday over the Bank's handling of the closure of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International, which was attacked in the official Bingham report two weeks ago.

Mr Leigh-Pemberton said that while the report was critical of the Bank, it did not completely condemn it. "I feel that far from resigning, it is better to accept the implications of the report and strengthen our approach rather than weaken it by forcing the resignation of our senior officers," he said.

"I do not think the report shows the sort of failure that requires ministerial or official resignation," he added. He was giving evidence to the Treasury select committee about the Bingham report.

The committee is expected to call on the government and the Bank to offer full compensation to BCCI depositors. The committee's report will be published before Christmas.

After the meeting Giles Radice MP, the committee's chairman, accused the governor of avoiding questions. "I have never heard such stammering, evasive evidence in my life," he said. Mr Leigh-Pemberton's defiant stand came as 93 MPs signed an early day motion calling for his resignation. "For him to continue to cling to his position leaves him with neither credibility nor honour," it said. The motion was led by Callum MacDonald, the Labour MP for the Western Isles, whose local council lost heavily in BCCI's collapse and is now calling for compensation.

Mr Leigh-Pemberton admitted there had been a breakdown in communication

in the Bank over BCCI, but denied that the Bank had been lax in its supervision. "I have great regret that an enormous amount of money should be lost, but I cannot accept absolute responsibility for all the Bank in a supervisory regime. Banking is risky and there will be mistakes," he concluded.

One of the 18 BCCI executives held in custody in Abu Dhabi has died of heart failure. Arjuman Naqvi, 50, was rushed from the detention centre to hospital on Monday night. Mr Naqvi was an international officer in the chief executive's office and was also said to be the account officer for the Faisal Islamic Bank. The bank, nicknamed "Tumbleweed" in Price Waterhouse's report which led to BCCI's closure, was the main source of unrecorded deposits which BCCI used to conceal losses.

in the Bank over BCCI, but denied that the Bank had been lax in its supervision. "I have great regret that an enormous amount of money should be lost, but I cannot accept absolute responsibility for all the Bank in a supervisory regime. Banking is risky and there will be mistakes," he concluded.

Sheehy supports Pru stand on regulation

By MATTHEW BOND

SIR Patrick Sheehy, chairman of BAT Industries, the conglomerate that owns the Eagle Star and Allied Dunbar insurance businesses, has supported calls for self-regulation of the financial services industry to be scrapped and replaced by a system of more direct government control.

Sir Patrick's comments followed those of Mick Newmarch, chief executive of Prudential Assurance. "We rather agree with the diagnosis of Mick Newmarch," Sir Patrick said. "Self-regulation has not really worked. It is extremely expensive and does not seem to catch the people who are more likely to not play the game. We believe a more statutory approach could be relevant." Sir Patrick said BAT's views had been put to the Bank of England a year ago.

Sir Patrick also unveiled pre-tax profits up 56 per cent to £1.027 billion for the nine months to end-September and a doubling in earnings per share. No dividend is paid with the third-quarter results, but Sir Patrick said the 9 per

cent increase in the interim dividend would be "at least maintained for the year as a whole". Trading profits from tobacco rose 16 per cent to £805 million, while financial services contributed £376 million (£142 million).

Eagle Star continues to be hit by claims against domestic mortgage indemnity policies held by building societies as part protection against defaults on high percentage loans. Third-quarter provisions of £29 million take total provisions to £261 million.

Although Eagle Star's general underwriting performance improved significantly, Sir Patrick said it was far from certain when the mortgage indemnity provisioning would stop. Although the number of repossessions is falling, he was concerned that an increase in the number of homeowners more than six months in arrears indicated that the problem had not gone away. "We are in the hands of the building societies."

Tempos, page 26

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Trade skirmish or trade war

Everyone struggling with the British recession knows how vital confidence is in speeding recovery. If Bill Clinton can, by mood and rhetoric, inject confidence back into the American economy, his mere election could bring a greater benefit to the world economy than any detailed examination of his policies might suggest. The trouble is that some of those policies could have the opposite effect, most notably in boosting the existing tide towards protectionism and hence shrinking the volume of international trade.

Most of the Clinton fair trade salvos are inevitably launched against Japan, by virtue of its huge bilateral surplus with America. The critical existing dispute is with the European Community. The oilseed affair is a key to a successful conclusion of the Gatt trade talks, because it symbolises the issue of agricultural production and export subsidies. Anyone who has seen Britain's landscape splattered with fields of yellow- and blue-flowered oil crops that never seemed worthwhile for farmers to grow before, might suspect America has a just cause and the EC does not have a leg to stand on. They would be right.

If this separate issue is not resolved, there will be no Gatt agreement and a trade war, or a series of trade-restricting measures, is inevitable. Given the refusal of the EC to accept Gatt rulings, cutting through the impasse must involve brinkmanship that itself threatens to spark the very trade war that would supplant world recovery. Here, the changeover period at the White House could be highly convenient. If President Bush imposed sanctions as soon as possible without a Gatt consensus, Mr Clinton would be in a strong position to strike a deal that would gracefully remove them. The critical question would be whether the EC council of ministers agreed to retaliate, identifying America as a trade enemy, or declined to do so, putting pressure on France to accept a reasonable Gatt deal on EC farm export subsidies.

America has stuck by the rules so far. Unless a quick breakthrough is achieved, however, Mr Clinton will find it hard to resist pious calls for protection or retaliation from American interest groups. To make matters worse, Mr Clinton's own plan to tax foreign corporations more heavily will either have to be beefed up in ways highly damaging to British interests, or it will leave a hole in his budget calculations. That could most easily be filled by trade levies. In the oilseed dispute, therefore, Britain's interest is clearly identified with America rather than with the stand of the European Commission.

Blinkered

Stephen Littlechild's evidence to the trade and industry select committee was depressing, if not wholly surprising. The electricity regulator made clear that the future of indigenous coal supplies was nothing to do with him. On that thinking, it would hardly matter if uneconomic gas-fired power contracts or insecure imports closed the mines, as long as they did not hurt the consumer. Professor Littlechild takes competition as his watchword. Cutting the dominance of National Power and PowerGen, which use the coal, would therefore be deemed in consumers' long-term interest.

The fallacies in such arguments are now apparent. Professor Littlechild's blinkered approach may, however, merely reflect his brief. If that is the case, the power industry needs a regulator with a long-term perspective on energy resources, just as the water industry is controlled by the National Rivers Authority as well as, and sometimes in tension with, Ofwat, its financial regulator. Meanwhile, Professor Littlechild should not ape Whitehall by contracting out policy research to firms with past or present commercial connections to the regulated.

Even before the tycoon's death a year ago, the self-regulation system was looking shaky. Now it is being turned inside out, says Jon Ashworth

Even before Robert Maxwell's death a year ago today, the cracks had begun to appear in the regulation of investment business. The collapse of Barlow Clowes in May 1988, cut off thousands of elderly investors from their source of income; these were the very people the Financial Services Act was supposed to protect. The failure of Dunsdale Securities, in June 1990, called the monitoring role of the City watchdogs into question. The Act was teetering on the brink.

It took Robert Maxwell to push it over the edge. A year after his death, the regulatory rulebook is being rewritten and plans for the merger of two more self-regulatory organisations are well advanced. Nowhere is the change clearer than at the Investment Management Regulatory Organisation (Imro), the regulator of pension funds and fund managers. If the system worked, Imro should have been able to stop Maxwell from plundering more than £400 million from his pension funds.

The body seemed to be leading the drive towards tougher regulation when the scandal broke. In May 1991, in its first public actions, four Hill Samuel investment companies were fined a total of £100,000 for 13 breaches of rules and Mercury Asset Management was fined £50,000 for not complying with the rules on client bank accounts. In November, days after Maxwell's death, Invesco MIM was fined £75,000 for ten breaches of rules in its administration of personal equity plans. But the tide of popular opinion was about to turn.

Rumours began to circulate that Imro had reviewed the records of Bishopgate Investment Management weeks before Maxwell's death and found nothing wrong. In a report prepared for the Securities and Investments Board (SIB), Imro admitted that it had failed to set up proper risk assessment procedures to identify "problem cases", but went on to criticise Coopers & Lybrand, auditor to most of the Maxwell companies, for failing to warn regulators of impending trouble.

The crunch came in June, when George Nissen resigned as Imro's chairman amid growing criticism of the regulator's role in policing Maxwell pension money. Charles Nunneley, deputy chairman of Robert Fleming, has stepped in as acting chairman until a replacement can be found.

Soon after Mr Nissen resigned, the SIB published a report condemning Imro's role in the Maxwell affair and said it had considered closing it down. But despite Imro's obvious failure as a regulator of the Maxwell funds, the board said it could continue as pension funds monitor as



Heavy responsibility: Imro's failure to stop Robert Maxwell's £400 million pension fraud forced a rethink

long as its function was strengthened. John Morgan, Imro's chief executive, said steps to strengthen the regulatory function were under way. "We looked at our handling of the Maxwell matter deeply and with deep concern. We said, yes, there were shortcomings, and we've been working hard to rectify those in the last six months or so."

Imro is recruiting staff with a broad background in regulation and has created a "watch team" to look for potential breaches. "We have changed the pattern of our organisation," Mr Morgan said. "We have a bigger team and closer regulation. There is work yet to be done and a number of projects yet to be implemented."

Imro is working closely with the SIB, which is reviewing the whole field of financial regulation. Andrew Large, the SIB's chairman, has committed the board to action on three fronts to tighten regulation after the scandal. "We have to look at how to improve the system we have without throwing out the parts that are good," he said, when the SIB published its report on Imro in July.

Just six weeks after Maxwell's death, MFs attacked the SIB's role in tackling the scandals of the Maxwell pension fraud and bogus trading at

the London Futures and Options Exchange. The Commons trade and industry committee suggested that the SIB had perhaps been "lackadaisical" and expressed alarm when told that the board had first learned of the irregularities at Bishopgate Investment Management as late as November 25.

Norman Lamont, Chancellor of the Exchequer, said the government was "determined that all the lessons of the Maxwell affair must be learned and implemented". Mr Large is independently reviewing the SIB's role and structure.

In March, as public outrage over the plight of the Maxwell pensioners mounted, the idea of a single watchdog for private investment was put forward. A report for the SIB by Sir Kenneth Cusack, a former permanent secretary at the trade department, suggested a self-regulatory organisation to cover the business regulated by the Financial Intermediaries, Managers and Brokers Regulatory Association (Fimbra) and the Life Assurance and Unit Trust Regulatory Organisation (Lautro). The new organisation would also embrace business conducted with private investment by members of Imro and some clients of

the Securities and Futures Authority. If all goes to plan, the so-called Personal Investment Authority (PIA) will be inaugurated in July 1993, but divisions among the interest groups it hopes to represent will not be overcome easily. Life companies, banks and building societies are all threatening to boycott it.

Lautro has been baring its teeth with greater ferocity this year. Its annual report, published in October, showed a big increase in investor complaints, mostly about over-selling and unsuitable products. These rose from 1,332 to 1,999. The regulator has stirred into action this year and suspended a member for the first time and fined several. The suspension of Oaklife Assurance, based in Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, related to its sales practices. Lautro had issued only four public reprimands in the previous two years.

In July, Scottish Widows was required to carry out an examination of all policies sold by its tied agents over the past four years. In August, 13 life assurance companies were told to withdraw advertising relating to single premium with-profits bonds. Last month, Cannon Assurance was fined £50,000 and ordered to pay substantial costs after admitting three charges of misconduct, and

Lautro revealed that Laurentian Life was checking policies sold by its tied agents. This week, London & Manchester Assurance was fined £80,000 for rule breaches involving 18 of its appointed representative firms. More cases are going through Lautro's disciplinary process than ever before.

The Securities and Futures Authority (SFA), created out of the merger, in April 1991, of The Securities Association and the Association of Futures Brokers and Dealers, had already made a name for itself as one of the toughest regulators by the time of Maxwell's death.

In its first four months, fines of £350,000 were imposed. In October, the two top executives of the London Futures and Options Exchange resigned after an investigation by the authority. The same month, Bell Lawrie White, Scotland's largest stockbroker, was fined £75,000 for breaches of rules.

Christopher Sharples, the SFA's chairman, said in July that revelations about City firms' connections with the theft of more than £400 million from the Maxwell pension funds had brought the entire regulatory structure into question.

It emerged that the SFA was considering disciplinary proceedings against four members named in a writ issued by MGN pension trustees in connection with the disappearance of £88 million from the MGN pension scheme. The four are Capel-Cure Myers, Lehman Brothers International, Bank of America and Crédit Suisse.

Mr Sharples was critical of expensive legal proceedings such as the Blue Arrow trial, which cost £40 million. He said disciplinary powers under the Financial Services Act were more expeditious than criminal trials. The SFA has the power to impose unlimited fines.

Four months on, Mr Sharples is confident that the authority is heading in the right direction. "We are at something of a crossroads, with the SIB conducting a thorough review of their own role and the future of the PIA yet to be determined. However, I am not expecting any changes as far as the SFA is concerned and the firms that we regulate, largely dealing in the wholesale markets, would not welcome any upheaval either."

"Aside from our routine monitoring activities, we continue to seek better ways of dealing with major fraud cases, to push ahead with the information-sharing database between regulators, to press for a separate compensation scheme for SFA members, to have better co-operation with the auditors of member firms and generally to strike the right balance between being an effective regulator and yet not stifling innovation, which is a key feature of the City's success as a financial centre."

Fines and reprimands are a visible sign that regulators have been taking their roles seriously in the year since Maxwell's death. Cynics who suspect instances of "window dressing" to make it seem as if the regulators are capable of more than their promise are awaiting Mr Large's review with interest.

THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Hitting back at Conran

"YOU have to be joking," exclaimed Michael Julien, one-time chief executive of Storehouse, when he read Sir Terence Conran's claim in this column last week that Ikea, the Dutch owned furniture superstore group, had offered to buy Habitat once before; that Julien had objected and that the price on offer then was considerably higher. "You do not seriously think he would have suggested selling Habitat while he was chairman?" says Julien. "He is trying to rewrite history." Julien's version of events is that he and Conran jointly declined Ikea's offer in 1989. "We were defending the concept." No sum was actually offered, he said. "I did mention a price, starting high, and they were very snifty. Both sides agreed that should Storehouse's position change, Ikea would be the first to know. Julien, 55, insists, however, that he harbours no bad feelings towards Conran. "Whenever I bump into him I am very polite to him," he says. Julien, now helping to run Uniform Clothing & Equipment Company, a family firm making uniforms based in Clerkenwell, adds that he would like something else to do. "I am looking for something, but it will only be part-time," he says.

Maxwell cocktails
A GROUP of up to 20 corporate financiers, employed in a subsidiary of Maxwell Communication Corporation, last night marked the first anniversary of their former boss's



death by dining in the Covent Garden restaurant called Maxwell's and then moving on to a boat on the Thames for drinks. Dameon Priestley, assistant manager of Maxwell's, revealed that two large parties had booked tables in the restaurant. "I don't mind what they celebrate provided they spend a lot of money and have some fun," he says.

In the bag

IT MAY have taken a year but Niall Ferris, a former market maker in European equities at Paribas Capital Markets, has found an ingenious way of striking back at the City. Ferris, 30, who joined Paribas from Smith New Court and left in a round of blood-letting almost a year ago to the day, has teamed up with an old school chum, James Hayward, to launch a packaged version of the party game traditionally played at dinner parties after several glasses of port. The game, *Who's in the Bag?*, has been accepted by Harrods, Hamleys and other big London stores. "It's a sort

of verbal dictionary," says Hayward, 29, who once worked in insolvency at Price Waterhouse. "You pick names out of a bag and people have to guess who you're pretending to be." A few thousand sets of the £24.95 game, dubbed "the next Trivial Pursuit", have already been sold, and nearly 200 have found their way into the City. Buyers have included a number of Ferris's former colleagues at Paribas. It is, one might argue, the least they could do.

Shell club chums

THE Shell Centre near Waterloo station was the venue yesterday for a masonic-style meeting of one of Britain's least-known clans as it gathered for its twice-yearly luncheon. Members include Sir Bob Reid, former Shell chairman now heading British Rail, Paul Spicer, Tiny Rowland's right-hand man at Lorrain, David Bruce, finance director of Guinness Mahon, three Lords, several knights, and past heads of both County NatWest (Howard MacDonnell) and Hawker Siddeley (Sir Peter Baxendell). All are ex-Shell, now with various other City connections, and meet under the auspices of the Shell Citymen's Club. According to Bernard Coe, a former club chairman, there is in fact a directory of 300 members and it is extensively used. "We don't exactly roll up our trousers, but Shell has a pretty good vetting procedure to begin with, which means they can be trusted to have certain standards of integrity," he says enigmatically.

CAROL LEONARD

Building societies should help out

From Mr L.S. Cockerham

Sir, I am amazed that the Bradford & Bingley should try to adopt the Mr Clean image with their plan to sublet repossessed houses.

My daughter and son-in-law are victims of the mortgage trap, with a London flat now valued at £10,000 less than their B&B mortgage. Because of changes in work patterns, they have been forced to move away from the area, but, for the 10,000 reasons mentioned above, they have had no choice but to sublet their property until hopefully, prices pick up to somewhere approaching their original levels.

Although the income from subletting will by no means cover the mortgage payments, does the friendly Bradford & Bingley help them in any way? No. Seeing an opportunity for even greater grasping, they are now insisting that an extra 1 per cent interest is paid on

the mortgage while the property is sublet.

Having ripped them off at the outset by insisting on an excessive premium for the mortgage, since it was greater than some multiple of their joint income, they are now charging this young couple even more. I should add that despite terrible financial difficulties over the past two years, my daughter and her husband have not walked away from their debts, as many others did. Moreover, all payments have been made in full and on time — but often with great difficulty.

There must be many like them. Isn't it about time the B&B (and presumably other building societies do the same thing), helped rather than exploited their financially reliable customers?

Yours faithfully,
L.S. COCKERHAM,
47 Plantation Road,
Harrogate, N Yorks.

Quality sacrificed

From Mr Richard Williams

On the means of the retail and construction industries carried in your columns recently.

On visiting six new flats I noticed all the electrical equipment in the kitchens was of continental manufacture and one property developer was driving a Mercedes four-wheel drive. I could also see daylight down the side of double-glazed windows.

From the above I can only conclude that with tighter margins, quality is being sacrificed and builders should understand that by putting British workers on the dole they worsen the housing market. However, all this could be caused by the dead hand of accountants controlling bad management — the bane of British industry for years.

Yours faithfully,
RICHARD WILLIAMS,
93 Jackson Road,
Bromley, Kent.

Worrying trend in customer service

From Mr Richard Varey

Sir, I believe I am a typical consumer, and that I have identified a worrying trend in my own experience of buying products and services in the UK.

We are led to believe by the growing volume of academic and business literature that outstanding service quality is the major viable source of competitive advantage for the future. Further, many organisations are now incorporating statements about their "commitment to customer service" and other grand phrases in their marketing communications.

But I observe in my everyday encounters with suppliers a rather telling situation in which those who spout about their service quality are least likely to deliver, whilst the

organisations truly making strides towards "delighting the customer" can be recognised, not by grand statements but by their actions.

I for one am getting tired of hearing about how marvellous the service will be, and how important I, the customer, am (post-purchase there is rarely evidence of either). I just want promises to be realistic, kept and treated with respect.

Excellent service quality requires a widespread acceptance that serving others is honourable and satisfying, and that it requires us all to stop being so selfish and short-sighted in our lives. Yours faithfully,
RICHARD J VAREY,
Lecturer in Marketing,
Sheffield Business School.

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German slowdown puts brakes on Mercedes

Anatol Lieven reports from Bonn how the prestige car maker has been forced into short-time working

The sharp slowdown in the German economy has finally caught up with Mercedes-Benz, Germany's most prestigious car maker, which announced earlier this week the introduction of short-time working for employees in its commercial vehicles sector. The company said it will consider next year whether to extend this to the production of private cars.

News of cutbacks at Mercedes are yet another indication that the industry, one of the mainstays of the German economy, is headed for a downturn, which observers judge to be one of the severest in its history.

On Monday, Daimler-Benz, Mercedes' parent, announced the suspension of plans to build a new truck factory at Ahrensberg in east Germany. The plant was planned as "the most modern truck producer in Europe", and its loss is a severe blow to hopes of revitalising the east's economy.

Mercedes' production of private cars has dropped from 578,000 last year to an estimated 530,000 this year. The latest news from the company comes on top of a string of depressing developments in the car industry

including 5,000 jobs lost at Volkswagen and the first ever annual losses at Porsche.

The federal state of Baden-Württemberg, home of Daimler-Benz and heart of the German car industry, announced this week that it will try to revive this embattled sector with a classic west German package of state and private measures. Some 240,000 people are employed in the industry in the state. This week, the IFO economics institute, in Munich, predicted that German motor vehicle production will fall by 7 per cent next year.

Fears have been expressed that this German industry may now be structurally uncompetitive compared to its main rivals, above all because of the very high cost of labour, which the German unions now wish to extend to the east. It has been estimated that German cars are on average DM700 more expensive to make even than their equivalents made in Britain.

The IG Metall union has announced that it is ready in

principle to accept a temporary freeze in real wages in west Germany, but this is unlikely to be enough. Louis Hughes, the former chief of Opel, the German subsidiary of General Motors, has declared that if Germany wishes to remain "world class" in this field, it will have to reduce the number of its car workers by around half by the year 2,000, a loss of around 450,000 jobs. Even if these losses were managed by re-training and early retirement, it would still be a severe blow to Baden-Württemberg.

Mercedes cut its staff by 10,000 this year, and Daimler-Benz has announced a drastic reduction in senior management. Daimler-Benz now has some 100,000 unsold cars in stock, and has admitted its "S-Car" programme has been a costly failure. However, it has strongly denied a report in *Der Spiegel* of drastically reduced returns this year.

Porsche this week announced its first ever annual

losses, DM65.8 million for 1991-2, and has cut 1,850 staff after world sales dropped from 26,486 to 23,069. Further losses are expected and there are rumours of a takeover by VW.

Baden-Württemberg has responded to this gloomy picture by drawing up a joint plan, together with industry managers and the trades unions, for state-backed improvements in research and development and in the supply of parts. The state government is to provide DM15 billion. Werner Niefer, Mercedes' chairman, has called for suppliers to change over to providing whole systems rather than individual parts. Local union leaders have spoken of the need for early agreement on restructuring wages with the employers. Whether Germany will be able to master the kind of restructuring now apparently needed, on top of the west's massive transfers of capital to the east, is however an open question.

In another sign of attempt-

ed co-operation, Walter Riestler, the chief of the metalworkers union in south west Germany, said yesterday at a trade union conference in Stuttgart that he saw a "wave of short-time work" in the car industry as imminent.

Herr Riestler said that the union would accept this if it were necessary to save jobs. Matthias Kleinert, a spokesman for Daimler-Benz, told the conference that such a move was possible. Mercedes announced last week that the Christmas holidays would be prolonged until January 8 for 127,000 workers.

Herr Riestler called for a guided reconstruction of the car industry, involving the development of environmentally friendly electrical vehicles and the shifting of employment towards the recycling of motor-vehicles and other metal and electrical goods. He welcomed recent steps to encourage this by the German environment ministry. Mr Kleinert agreed, pointing to the attempts already made to incorporate stronger environmental standards into Daimler's new model, to be introduced next summer, and moves by Daimler to develop re-cycling plants in east Germany.



Gear change: Werner Niefer, Mercedes' chairman

Retailers offered ray of hope

BY MARTIN WALLER
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

A RARE ray of light in the gloomy retail scene is discerned by Verdict Research. The specialist consultant says consumers have become more willing to purchase since the upheavals of Black Wednesday in September.

Verdict tracks its own index of consumer purchasing intentions, asking consumers which articles they plan to buy over the next six months. The first survey since Britain's exit from the ERM and consequent falls in interest rates shows October's figure ahead of September's, after a downward trend over the summer.

But Verdict says the uplift may merely represent seasonal trends as consumers' thoughts turn to Christmas, given that October's index of 116, although up from 107 in September, is still below the June figure of 123.

There is no good news from the housing market, where the index remains unchanged, but some encouragement for retailers of cars, brown goods such as stereos and clothes. Verdict believes sustainable recovery will not emerge until way into next year.

Japanese banks diversify in bid to meet BIS ratio

FROM REUTERS IN TOKYO

JAPANESE banks operating internationally are becoming less dependent on unrealised profits in shareholdings, due to diversified instruments to raise capital, a senior finance ministry official said.

"It is necessary for banks to establish a structure in which they do not depend much on stock price fluctuations (in meeting international capital standards)," Atsushi Takahashi, deputy director-general of the ministry's banking bureau, said.

"They (banks) are reducing the dependence and they should continue to do so to provide necessary funds to cope with the growing economy," he told a seminar.

At the end of September, Japan's 90 banks operating internationally posted an average 8.7 per cent capital adequacy ratio, up from an average 8.3 per cent at the end of March, the ministry announced last week.

Under the guidelines set by the Bank for International Settlements, Japanese banks with overseas offices are required to achieve a minimum 8.0 per cent of capital against risk assets by March 31, 1993. Capital is divided into core capital, which includes banks' ordinary shares, and supplementary capital, including 45 per cent of the unrealised profit on shareholdings.

According to preliminary data, total capital at the 90

banks was 53.9 trillion yen (£284 billion) at end-September, up from ¥52.38 trillion six months earlier. Unrealised profit on securities holdings accounted for ¥8.6 trillion of the capital at end-September, down from ¥9.9 trillion.

Mr Takahashi said the decline in unrealised profits was due to lower share prices but was offset by banks' efforts to increase supplementary capital through other financial instruments. The 90 banks took on subordinated loans and other financial instruments such as perpetual subordinated bonds worth ¥2.7 trillion in April-September 1992, he said.

Risk-weighted assets at the 90 banks totalled ¥618.4 trillion at end-September, against ¥628.1 trillion at end-March, because of a drop in foreign-currency denominated assets from ¥165.4 trillion six months ago to ¥149 trillion at end-September.

The finance ministry planned to encourage banks to step up corporate loan sales by allowing them to introduce a new way to sell small corporate loans through trust accounts.

Under the scheme, banks group small corporate loan facilities and sell these loan-backed securities to insurers, which conclude trust contracts with trust banks. These then sell certificates of interest in the loan-backed securities to other investors.

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BP agrees \$456m sale to Minorco

BY MARTIN BARROW

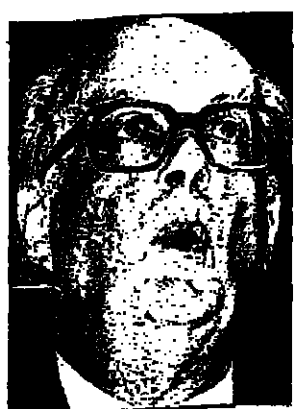
BRITISH Petroleum has agreed to sell its interest in the Olympic Dam mine project in South Australia to Minorco, the natural resources company, for almost US\$456 million in cash.

The agreement includes BP's 49 per cent working interest and loans advanced to Western Mining Corporation, which owns a 51 per cent interest and manages the project.

Western Mining has pre-emptive rights in respect of Minorco's offer for the working interest and has 90 days from the serving of a formal notice by BP in which to elect to take up its rights.

The consideration comprises \$340 million in respect of BP's working interest and \$215 million in respect of loans advanced by BP.

Minorco will also assume an obligation to fund Western Mining's share of future project capital expenditures.



Ashburton: pressure

Olympic Dam is part of BP's remaining portfolio of mining interests excluded from the £2.4 billion sale of BP Minerals to RTZ in 1989.

The mine, discovered in 1975 and developed at a cost of A\$750 million, contains one of the world's largest copper, uranium, gold and silver deposits.

At the end of June, it had underground proven reserves of 37 million tonnes. In the year to end-June, it produced 62,000 tonnes of refined copper and 1,370 tonnes of uranium oxide, 22,850 ounces of gold and 467,200 ounces of silver.

An A\$60 million expansion project has been completed at Olympic Dam to increase copper producing capacity by more than 40 per cent to 65,000 tonnes a year. BP may give news of further disposals today when the company announces its financial results for the third quarter.

Analysts expect a decline in net income from £156 million to about £65 million on a historic cost basis, reflecting lower earnings from exploration and production as a result of the weak dollar for most of the quarter.

Gearing is estimated to have risen from 82 per cent at the end of the second quarter to about 93 per cent. This has increased pressure on the new management, under the chairman, Lord Ashburton, to reduce borrowings through disposals and control of working capital.

UNITED AIRLINES

هنا من الفصل

Portfolio Plus

From your Portfolio Plus card check your eight share price movements on this page only. Add them up to give you your overall total and check this against the daily dividend figure. If it matches you have your dividend correct. If it does not, follow the claim procedure on the back of your card. Always have your card available when claiming. Claim rules appear on the back of your card.

| No | Company | Group | Gain or loss |
|----|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1 | Kingfisher | Drugs, Retail | 1.00 |
| 2 | Nobis | Industrial | 0.50 |
| 3 | Sime Food | Food | 0.25 |
| 4 | Jardine Math | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 5 | APV | Industrial | 0.15 |
| 6 | Smiths Ind | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 7 | Beapac | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 8 | Viscom | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 9 | Unilever | Food | 0.10 |
| 10 | Bathhouse Brs | Financial, Land | 0.10 |
| 11 | Allen | Building, Retail | 0.10 |
| 12 | Vodafone | Telecom | 0.10 |
| 13 | London Elect | Electrical | 0.10 |
| 14 | Com Union | Insurance | 0.10 |
| 15 | Wolverhampton D | Breweries | 0.10 |
| 16 | Persternum | Building, Retail | 0.10 |
| 17 | Star Comp | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 18 | Rothmans B | Tobacco | 0.10 |
| 19 | Warman | Property | 0.10 |
| 20 | BAT | Tobacco | 0.10 |
| 21 | Berkley Gp | Building, Retail | 0.10 |
| 22 | Severn Trent | Water | 0.10 |
| 23 | Eurochem | Chemicals | 0.10 |
| 24 | Rusby Group | Building, Retail | 0.10 |
| 25 | Rolls-Royce | Motor, Air | 0.10 |
| 26 | Hill & Smith | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 27 | Grampian Hl | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 28 | Unicom Disc | Telecom | 0.10 |
| 29 | Norwich | Food | 0.10 |
| 30 | Dalrymple | Food | 0.10 |
| 31 | Boysen | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 32 | Higgs & Hill | Building, Retail | 0.10 |
| 33 | Halsford U | Chemicals | 0.10 |
| 34 | Orford Kind | Building, Retail | 0.10 |
| 35 | Modem U | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 36 | Wagon Ind | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 37 | BT | Telecom | 0.10 |
| 38 | Broken Hill | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 39 | Young A | Industrial | 0.10 |
| 40 | Greenall Gp | Industrial | 0.10 |

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Please take into account any minus signs

£1,000 MATCH THE SHARES

If you have ticked off your eighth share in our Match The Shares game today, claim your prize by telephoning 0254 53217 between 10.00am and 5.00pm (see the Sunday Times for full details)

Three winners equally share the Portfolio Plus prize of £2,000. They are Mr P Chance, Watford, Herts, Mrs L Clarke, Crook, Co Durham, Miss M Bailey, High Barnet, Herts.

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Please take into account any minus signs

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

| 1992 | High | Low | Company | Price | Net | Yld | P/E |
|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 100 | 98 | Barclays | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

| 1992 | High | Low | Company | Price | Net | Yld | P/E |
|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 100 | 98 | Barclays | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
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| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
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| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
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| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

| 1992 | High | Low | Company | Price | Net | Yld | P/E |
|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 100 | 98 | Barclays | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 1992 | High | Low | Company | Price | Net | Yld | P/E |
|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 100 | 98 | Barclays | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

| 1992 | High | Low | Company | Price | Net | Yld | P/E |
|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 100 | 98 | Barclays | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

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| 1992 | High | Low | Company | Price | Net | Yld | P/E |
|------|------|-----|------------|--------|------|------|-------|
| 1 | 100 | 98 | Barclays | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 2 | 100 | 98 | HSBC | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 3 | 100 | 98 | Midland | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 4 | 100 | 98 | Paragon | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 5 | 100 | 98 | Prudential | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 6 | 100 | 98 | TSB | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 7 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |
| 8 | 100 | 98 | Yorkshire | 100.00 | 1.00 | 5.00 | 10.00 |

BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|------|
| 191 | 100 | Anonymous | 150 | - 4 | 5.0 | 5.1 | ... |
| 196 | 123 | 38p Ind | 173 | - 2 | 11.2 | 8.7 | 44.8 |
| 102 | 51 | Bangeridge Bk | 57 | ... | 3.1 | 7.3 | 14.8 |
| 27 | 15 | Bailey (Bos) Com | 16 | + 1 | 0.5 | 4.6 | ... |
| 118 | 68 | Barcom | 68 | ... | ... | 7.4 | ... |
| 88 | 34 | Barran Dirs | 76 | - 1 | 2.0 | 3.5 | ... |
| 304 | 143 | Bellway | 253 | + 3 | 11.0 | 5.8 | 16.0 |

THE TIMES UNIT TRUST INFORMATION SERVICE

| Unit Trust | Price | Change | Unit Trust | Price | Change |
|------------------------------|-------|--------|------------------------------|-------|--------|
| ABBEY UNIT TRUST MANAGERS | | | ABBEY UNIT TRUST MANAGERS | | |
| Abbey Bond | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Bond | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Growth | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Growth | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Income | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Income | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Property | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Property | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey World | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey World | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Asia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Asia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Europe | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Europe | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Japan | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Japan | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey US | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey US | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Australia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Australia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey New Zealand | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey New Zealand | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey South Africa | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey South Africa | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Hong Kong | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Hong Kong | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Taiwan | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Taiwan | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Korea | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Korea | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey India | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey India | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey China | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey China | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Russia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Russia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Brazil | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Brazil | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Mexico | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Mexico | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Argentina | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Argentina | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Chile | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Chile | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Peru | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Peru | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Colombia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Colombia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Venezuela | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Venezuela | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Ecuador | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Ecuador | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Bolivia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Bolivia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Paraguay | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Paraguay | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Uruguay | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Uruguay | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Cuba | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Cuba | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Haiti | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Haiti | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Dominican Republic | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Dominican Republic | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Puerto Rico | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Puerto Rico | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Virgin Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Virgin Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Cayman Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Cayman Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Anguilla | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Anguilla | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Antigua | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Antigua | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Barbados | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Barbados | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Belize | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Belize | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Bermuda | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Bermuda | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey British Virgin Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey British Virgin Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Cook Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Cook Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Cocos Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Cocos Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Christmas Island | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Christmas Island | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Easter Island | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Easter Island | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Fanning Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Fanning Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Faroe Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Faroe Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Falkland Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Falkland Islands | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey French Polynesia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey French Polynesia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Gibraltar | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Gibraltar | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Greenland | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Greenland | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Guadeloupe | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Guadeloupe | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Guam | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Guam | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Guernsey | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Guernsey | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Hong Kong | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Hong Kong | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Iceland | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Iceland | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Jersey | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Jersey | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Johnston Atoll | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Johnston Atoll | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Kazakhstan | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Kazakhstan | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Kyrgyzstan | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Kyrgyzstan | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Laos | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Laos | 10.20 | +0.02 |
| Abbey Latvia | 10.20 | +0.02 | Abbey Latvia | 10.20 | +0.02 |
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From the Kodak Brownie to the Handycam has been a long journey. Just as the small black box brought photography within the reach of millions, the camcorder has turned us into a global race of video-makers. When BBC writers gave Linda Snell of *The Archers* a camcorder to shoot the Ambridge liner louts, audience reaction indicated they were on to a good thing, and Linda, equipped with a top-of-the-range model with editing suite, now spouts jargon like a movie pro.

Today, stills cameras work on the same principle as the Brownie (light passing through a lens fitted in a light-tight box and projecting the image on to a light-sensitive material), but modern design has removed technical headaches such as focus and exposure, and the photography enthusiast has the pick of thousands of models.

They range from Dixons' own-brand, manual, fixed-focus at £13, to auto-focus compacts such as the minuscule 6oz Olympus MJU-1 at £109.99 or Minolta's RIVA AF35, a simple auto-focus with a red-eye reduction system at £69.99, to the sophisticated, professional single-lens reflex cameras. These include Nikon's F4 and Canon's state-of-the-art EOS 5, a revolutionary design in which the camera fires infra-red beams at the photographer's eye and reflects them back to a microchip that uses the information to expose for and focus on whatever the eye is looking at.

Ninety-eight per cent of households now own at least one stills camera, but camcorders are catching up. Even in recession, where consumer electronics are concerned, there are only two products in steady growth — satellite dishes and camcorders. In five years, annual sales have jumped from 70,000 to 700,000, one for every ten households, to reach a total of more than two million in the UK alone. This figure is likely to double within the next year.

Several factors are responsible for the boom. Technological advances have brought the price within the reach of the mass market: a camcorder can be bought for the price of a good 35mm camera.

Curiously, most people are better

Walking talking pictures

The camcorder has made us a race of video-makers, writes Ros Drinkwater



Then and now: an American advertisement from the 1950s tempts readers with a movie camera costing \$29.95. Left: today buyers can expect to pay £699.99 for this compact model, a Canon UC15 camcorder

at making videos than at taking snapshots. It can be argued that freezing the action at precisely the right moment — what Harold Evans called "the decisive moment" — is more difficult than following it but, more importantly, most of us have spent our lives watching the masters of the medium on both big and small screens.

Without knowing it, we have

subconsciously studied the subject.

With our eye to a camcorder we remember the effect of a slow pan,

quick cuts and a zoom to close-up,

and are able to put those years of

passive observation to practical use.

So, which camcorder to buy? A bewildering array, priced from £500 to £3,000, is on offer.

Basically, camcorders are video cameras with an integrated unit that records synchronised image and sound and has the facility for instant replay on a television screen. They are simple to operate, with automatic focus and exposure, and basic models have limited editing facilities. Some take full-size VHS cassettes, but more up-to-date models use the smaller VHS-C tapes, which can be played back on a recorder with an adaptor.

Dixons has 60 models on display.

There is keen competition among manufacturers to produce the most streamlined model, with the most features, at the lowest cost. "Potential buyers would do well to study a specialist magazine such as *Camcorder User*," says Paul Wheaton, Dixons' photographic manager. "The first question you intend to use the machine for. The market is in three groups. Most of our sales are to families. We find sales peak just before holidays and Christmas." For this group the most popular models are in the low to medium price range, such as

Sony's VMD66 at £499.99 and Sony's CCD-FC500 at £799.99, a sturdy model weighing 850 grams and built to cope with a reasonable amount of rough and tumble.

The second group comprises cameras for people who take their videos seriously. The camera for them might be Sony's V6000 or Canon's EX1H, the European Camcorder of the Year for two years running and the only model on the market with interchangeable lenses compatible with the SLR EOS system. Expect to pay about £2,000.

As technology improves, camcorders become smaller and the trend is towards the third group, the "travelcam". Examples are Panasonic's Palmcamers and Sony's Handycams, for travellers who need to keep size and weight to a minimum.

Typical of this new generation is the Canon range of Ultra-Compacts, priced between £699.99 and £899.99. The base model, the UC15, weighs 520 grams, has an 8x zoom with a focal length of between 6mm and 48mm, top

shutter speed of 1/10,000 of a second and a backlight compensation facility. Controls have been streamlined to three buttons and filming is simply a case of pointing and shooting.

Picture quality is scarcely discernible from that of regular television programmes. The UC16 adds the luxury of a colour viewfinder, and the top-of-the-range UC30 records in stereo and uses the Hi8 system for improved picture quality. One advantage of the size is that the centre of gravity is directly in the palm of the hand, making it easier on the wrist.

There are, of course, 1,001 accessories, but your first buy should be the A to Z of Camcorders. Sachets of silica gel absorb humidity in hot climates and are useful for holiday videos. Dixons has a word of warning: videos made on an American camcorder cannot be played on a UK television, and vice versa, so do not be tempted by lower American prices. A tripod will eliminate camera shake, although more sophisticated

models now incorporate a device to counteract shake. A sound mixer, at £40, allows the addition of commentary and music. An editor, for £150 to £200, gives cleaner cuts and lets you change the sequence of takes. Sports fans will appreciate a splash-proof housing at £99.99.

For the video-maker who has everything, Sony has just introduced. Originally designed with hikers, sailors and mountaineers in mind, the IPS-360 GPS (Global Position System) is a palm-sized, battery-operated navigational system that enables you to plot your position within a hundred yards, useful when shooting on location and a snap at £849.99.

Meanwhile, back at Kodak, the latest product bridges the gap between stills and video. The idea is simple: when you take your 35mm stills films to Kodak for development, you ask to have them printed on to a compact disc. The Photo CD Player allows you to view, zoom, crop and rotate your pictures on the television screen. Progress has never been such fun.

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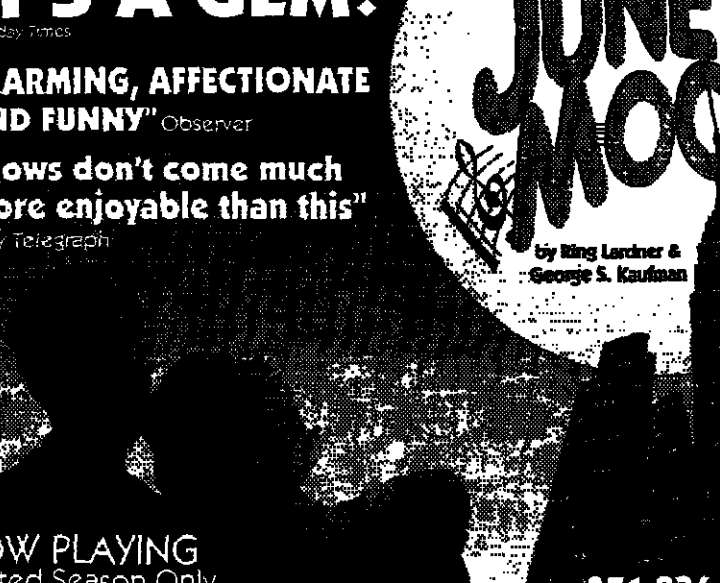
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Hawkeye speaks with forked tongue



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Time to put some bite into fiction

The vampire legend, dressed up for the Nineties, is making a literary comeback.

Lici Cavendish stakes out the new ghouls

Throughout the coming long, dark winter we will be surrounded by vampires. The creatures of the night that fly in through open windows and sink fatal fangs into milky-white necks are back in business. Consider this blood-spattered list of screen manifestations. Francis Ford Coppola is filming a remake of *Dracula*, starring Gary Oldman and Anthony Hopkins. Over the Christmas period BBC2 will be showing a "soap opera" (actually a real opera, broken up into bite-sized chunks), commissioned by Janet Street-Porter and called *The Vampire*. Even London Weekend Television's arts programme, *The South Bank Show*, will be raising its stakes and lifting the lid (the coffin lid, naturally) on the pinto-toothed marauders. And on Sunday week, Radio 3 is broadcasting *Vlad the Impaler*, a contemporary Rumanian play about the central European medieval despot who was the origin of the whole Count Dracula cult.

Its relaunch of the vampire myth is not confined to the screen. A plethora of books, fictional and non-fictional, are hitting the shops at the moment, including a couple of compendiums: *The Mammoth Book of Vampires* edited by Stephen Jones (published by Robinson) and *Vampire Stories* edited by Richard Dalby (published by Michael O'Mara). They are all about vampires, yet they show different sides of a myth that can be angled as the author chooses. That is probably why it has survived so long. The vampire now turns up as a black lesbian, or a Victorian serial killer or as a predatory American professor who stalks the campus for his prey, becomes psychologically confused and ends up going through Gestalt therapy. Very American, very 1992.

Why are vampires back in force?

In the last decade the public's appetite for the macabre, especially for gory, inexplicable deaths, has reached an all-time high. The vampire is the classic expression of our fear of the unknown: dead yet alive, dangerous yet alluring, often in a way that scarcely hides sexual undertones.

"The vampire is a fascinating demon who can be used as a metaphor for our society," says Christopher Frayling, author of *Vampires*. "It can represent the system sucking the proles dry, or drug addiction, or even ecological destruction. It is popular now because of the new puritanism. Passion is scary and should be repressed, if not punished. When Bram Stoker wrote his novel it was about putting passion back in the closet. This is happening now."

Obviously it is not difficult for an author to make a link between vampirism and HIV. The original *Dracula* novel was full of references to venereal diseases, especially syphilis from which Stoker is said to have suffered. That may explain the book's conservatism, its promotion of Victorian values and its underlying misogynist tone: was Stoker enacting in literary terms his desire to put a stake through the heart of the woman from whom he contracted his disease?

Kate Pullinger, whose book *Where Does Kissing End?* is being promoted as a modern *Dracula* story, uses Stoker's view of women: vampires to explore female sexuality, the balance of power between the sexes and the confusion that arises between men and women. She uses the vampire myth not only to scare but to show the sexual lure of her vampire, Mina.

"Mina is in control of her sexuality and uses it to express herself," says Pullinger. "She shows the dichotomy of many women in the 1990s: she has a job, she is



Scream on the screen: Christopher Lee, one of the most famous of the old-style Draculas on film — but the new manifestations are more attuned to modern traumas

independent, she sleeps without commitment with whoever she chooses, yet she also wants the security of a home and one particular lover. She suffers conflicting emotions about the way she is leading her life. My book looks at all these aspects of modern life — sex, power, monogamy, confusion — and I found that the changeable quality of the vampire myth helped me to do this."

Vampires are also outsiders. Stoker's *Dracula* is the antithesis of Victorian society. For a start, he is horrible, repellent, though that rarely comes over in the movies — stars such as Bela Lugosi and Christopher Lee probably balked at playing hairy, repugnant undead beings with appalling halitosis.

More important still, he embodies complete un-Englishness. He boasts of his wealth, is nauseatingly uncouth, has three unmitigatedly sexual, predatory wives, lives only at night and is a smarmy, slimy upstart. Just as the Irish Stoker never quite fitted in, so *Dracula* is an outsider with aristocratic connections who never quite succeeds in becoming socially acceptable.

Jewelle Gomez, in her book *The Gilda Stories* about a black lesbian vampire, has moulded this outsider element to show her vampire as a caring being, rather than a tyrannical monster whose dominance is

based on prescribed power relationships. She attempts to show both vampirism and lesbianism as processes of learning to be outside society. Immortality brings its problems: the vampire is depicted as a potentially lonely, confused creature.

Dr Weyland, the vampire in Suzy McKee Charnas's book *The Vampire Tapestry*, also suffers from being, of necessity, outside society. Yet he is a domineering character, a man of few sentimental feelings. He does not choose to be totally in control, but has to be in order to survive. "The vampire myth taps into the Nineties psyche," says Charnas.

Dr Weyland is glamorous, erudite, compelling, and a snappy dresser. Even when women know his real identity, they still willingly give themselves. In this respect Charnas has touched on a key element of the vampire's appeal: the unreal. He is attractive because he is fictitious. It is the illusion that vampire stories uncover subconscious desires which makes the myth so insidiously powerful.

"When I wrote my novel," says Charnas, "I tried to control my vampire and make him an anti-romantic, criminal figure. Yet he ended up being a sympathetic character who was semi-romantic. I had no choice how to depict him. In

fact, the book just wrote itself."

But beyond all this high-flown psychological speculation lies a more simple reason for the success of literary vampires: they make for ripping good yarns. "Let's face it," says Kim Newman, film critic and author of *Anno Dracula*, "the vampire myth is a great format for letting the author get everything into the novel — blood sucking, love, murder, castles, coffins, cleavage and, most importantly, lots and lots of sex. Which is what sells books in the end."

● *The Mammoth Book of Vampires* and *Vampire Stories* will be reviewed in the *Times Saturday Review* this Saturday



Cheryl Campbell: a performance of marvellous clarity

Lessons in the meaning of death

THEATRE: Jeremy Kingston enjoys a vigorous RSC revival of Middleton and Rowley's violent tragedy of moral decline

The opening line takes us straight to the spur of the drama. No cries of "What, ho!" to a long-lost companion, or "List, have you heard the news from port?" but a young gallant telling himself, and thus the audience, "Twas in the temple where I first beheld her." With his decision to abandon a voyage to Malta and hang around the streets of Alicante, the tragedy, moral decline and violent death is sent speeding on its way.

Michael Attenborough, the director of this vigorous revival, sensibly takes "temple" to mean "church" and prefaces Alsemero's line with a processional entry of devout women advancing through the audience, stepping across the wide fore-stage and climbing the steps to a giant crucifix. At the head of the procession and feet

of the cross Cheryl Campbell's Beatrice-Joanna kneels in silent prayer, soon to be espied by the man in love with her, who she would passionately prefer to marry in place of her father's choice.

The conversion of this preference into action (arranging the death of the unwanted betrothed) starts her on the course that will change her from a petish girl to a murderer in all but deed. The meaning of Middleton and Rowley's title for their play can just be stretched to apply to Beatrice's degradation, but really it belongs to the subplot, set in a mad-house. In Jacobean times a "changeling" was an idiot, the ugly

creature fairies left behind after a night of cradle-snatching.

Many little bits of the play do not work neatly, and there are gaps that a director must pretend not to notice or, as here, bridge with a marriage in dumbshow. But the play's fascination lies in the way it shows Beatrice being forced to understand what she has done, that a man's death is not like a fly's.

Campbell uncovers this reluctant awareness with marvellous clarity. At the start she

is a spoilt brat, displacing her rage at an unwelcome match onto De Flores, her father's ugly-faced servant. In her jutting lower lip you see the stubborn will, in her quick movements the mind fatally misruled by impulse and eaten out from within by apprehension. In the central scene she has to face a De Flores come to earn his reward for murder. Malcolm Storry, disguised by a purple birthmark from temple to chin, rejects her proffered ducats with heartfelt anger: it is not just the sense of an insult, and certainly it is more than sexual frustration: it is outrage that she should presume to feel untouched by the crime she has ordered.

With urgent, uncontested logic Storry drives home her guilt until Campbell finally breathes his name, stricken, in a voice that seems to come from the far corner of a cave. Dressed in pretty, Cavalier costumes, and with loud thumps of percussion and brazen trumpets (music by Paddy Cumteen) deepening the drama, the production's strong cast includes a meaty-voiced Alsemero from Michael Siberry and a likeably intelligent Lollio, the mad-house keeper, from Geoffrey Freshwater. The placing of actors on the fore-stage is something else. Picturesque, no doubt, to have onlookers standing motionless at the corners but from seat B23 the black mass of Jeffrey Dench's breeches totally blocks the sight of the death-throes of Campbell in Storry's arms.

JAZZ

Hamp's muted vibes

Lionel Hampton Festival Hall

Not so much a concert, more an opportunity to pay respects to one of the last of the great swing bandleaders. Eighty-four years old, Lionel Hampton suffered a stroke this summer, and many assumed that he would finally retire. The incorrigible showman recovered and is still dragging his vibraphone around the international circuit.

At his peak Hampton was blessed with endless stamina and enthusiasm. The will to perform is intact, but much of the speed and dexterity has ebbed away. The most we should expect from him is a cheerful canter, and he provided that here, backed by a celebrity octet which included the trombonist Al Grey, trumpeter Harry "Sweets" Edison and the pianist Junior Mance. The band itself was something of a disappointment. Responsible for some of the most zestful small-group jazz on record, Hampton now needs the roar of a full-blown big band behind him. Two or three years ago he was still capable of staging a phenomenal show with an orchestra of young, unknown musicians.

The eight "Golden Men", on the other hand, had a jaded air. Grey, at least, seemed to enter into the spirit of the occasion, shouting encouragement and delivering one ripe chorus after another. Benny Bailey, lead trumpeter in many a big band, also made a forceful impression when allowed solo space. Hampton slipped over to the spare drum kit for his traditional stick-twirling before bidding farewell with a touching rendition of "What a Wonderful World": half-sung, half-spoken. Notorious for playing well beyond his allotted time, he made a point of finishing on schedule.

CLIVE DAVIS

Clumsy step in the wrong direction

The audience in the stalls seemed appreciative, but not half as much as the man who broke up loudly at all the jokes and whooped his approval. Perhaps he was the choreographer. Or perhaps he had had a couple of drinks — which might well be the best state in which to view Northern Ballet Theatre's *Swan Lake*. Arrive slightly merrily (by public transport) and just go with it.

The production, devised by the company's director Christopher Gable and the American choreographer Dennis Wayne, is a pantomime *Swan Lake*, played for laughs most of the time. It even includes the Prince's tutor disguised as a wolf on roller skates and an exotically decked out in red velvet corset and gold fringe, like a particularly racy Wild West saloon bar girl.

The rest of *Lez Brotherston's* costumes also tend to look as though they have strayed from a Broadway musical. And the dancers dressed in them play their parts to the hilt.

Arzany Harith, tall and handsome, makes an especially dazzling Prince, even if his

Swan Lake
Royalty

dancing is not technically outstanding, and his jumps are less than amazing. Lorena Vidal's Odile appeared as a slyly seductress, not least in the ballroom pas de deux, which is transformed into explicit eroticism. Gable may justify this as emotional verismo, but verismo it ain't, since it seems to be taking place in full view of all the other guests.

Wayne has completely replaced the ballet's traditional choreography with steps that are workmanlike and often incongruous. Jayne Regan portrays Odette with great depth of feeling, but little in her demeanour or that of her companions suggests swans. They wear bedraggled off-white mini-dresses, like sylphs who have spent too long in the rain.

This production certainly does not advance the art of choreography; but then we have been asked to consider it rather as dance drama. As brash entertainment it works



Playing their parts to the hilt: Jayne Regan and William Walker in NBT's *Swan Lake*

well, but as drama it has many lacunae.

The different characters in the ball scene, for example, are confusingly introduced and certain details need sharper presentation to clarify motivation. In the final pas de deux, where is Odette pulling towards while the Prince holds her back — the lake?

Such weaknesses can be

forgiven; but what I cannot swallow is the mayhem committed on Tchaikovsky. Although hardly immune, from its earliest days, from cuts, interpolations and changes in sequence, the score now resembles a patchwork quilt. Worst of all, however, are the cross modifications in the orchestration. By all means make changes to accommo-

date the company's smaller orchestral resources. But to superimpose other prominent instruments such as a jazzy-sounding saxophone in an attempt to make the music match the stage action, no. Fine wine has been turned to vinegar as a seasoning for a coarse salad.

NADINE MEISNER

Trying to puzzle out the next move

Very
The Place

Even if I could tell you what Jonathan Burrows' new piece is "about" in any literary sense, he would not thank me for doing so, as he made clear in an interview on these pages last week. And of course literal meaning is not the point: it is something to experience. What I can say is that it involves four people moving in a confined space, the boundaries defined by rows of lamps at floor level. These are not fixed: the dancers move them at times, converting an oblong space into a square, and later into another oblong stretching a different way.

Two of the people utter words: Matteo Fargion, singing his own songs from a mobile keyboard, and Burrows at one point addressing a microphone. Those words are extraordinary. Every sentence Burrows speaks, in his quiet reasonable voice, makes perfect sense, but in succession they make no sense at all, since there is no relationship between them.

And the dancers, Burrows and two women, stepping in or out of their allotted space,

get up to the strangest things. Relationships are implied but not defined, motives are ambiguous, so are reactions. When Lynne Bristow repeatedly forces a cigarette on Deborah Jones, is that generosity or aggression, and is it received resentfully or thankfully?

Yet the suspicion grows that maybe we are all like this if watched closely enough. It makes, in any case, compulsive viewing. They are so self-absorbed, yet they know we are observing them: they stare back.

Dressed by Joe Casely-Hayford in conspicuously casual clothes, provided by Peter Mumford's lighting with a changing spatial climate, these performers go about actions that grip as much as they puzzle. Does it matter what the work is about? You might as well ask what life is about.

JOHN PERCIVAL

Alan Walters on Lawson, Norman Stone on Keynes, Douglas Jay on Keir Hardie, Noël Annan on Greenhill

Economic conceits of Mr Lawson

Politicians' memoirs are not memories; they are justification, excuses, obfuscation, a chance to get even and, most innocently, an opportunity to make money. Yet some, such as Churchill's, have a great historic theme and attain a Thucydidean grandeur which amply excuse the occasional pique and pique.

Alan, Nigel Lawson is no Churchill. Much of the memoirs is a matter of putting his slant on events, showing how Mrs Thatcher (as she then was) made important mistakes because she did not follow his advice. How she responded by "retreating" to the Number 10 bunker and how she was ill served by her most loyal advisers (particularly Bernard Ingham and me). Lawson seeks to demonstrate how right he was on so many critical occasions — the miners' strike, the poll tax, the entry into the Exchange Rate Mechanism are all notable examples.

THE VIEW FROM
No. 11
Memoirs of a Tory
Radical
By Nigel Lawson
Bantam, £20

Number 10 in mid-1989 when the ERM issue was clearly near boiling point, he would not listen to argument. He simply, and I thought kindly, welcomed me back and warned me to be wary of the media.

My criticism, which, though I made no claim for originality, acquired the label the "Walters critique", predicted that the ERM would give rise to (1) perverse monetary policy induced by externally determined interest rates; (2) a "roller-coaster" effect on the economy; and (3) eventual realignments and unilateral devaluations.

Most of us take the view that propositions should be accepted tentatively as valid only if the predictions are largely confirmed by facts. I believe that the events of last September put the final touch (3) to this validation.

Lawson clearly cannot countenance his *bête noire* being so vindicated and his own ideas duly discredited. Thus, Lawson produces a ridiculous and obvious travesty of the "Walters critique" with straw men galore, so that he can show how clever he is and how very stupid I am. Lawson is not a graceful loser.

I suppose that the attempt to save face became more urgent, since there has developed a much more critical view of the ERM by many respected authorities. The *Financial Times* (though not the paper's economic commentator, Samuel Brittan) has confirmed my view that the ERM put Britain on a "roller-coaster" from 1987. Karl Otto Pöhl, the former president of the Bundesbank, has endorsed my criticism of the system as "half-baked". Even the prime minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have called for its reform. But with a remarkable egocentricity, Lawson ignores reality. He says "nothing that has happened has caused me to revise from the view I took of the ERM as Chancellor".



Alan Walters (left) and Nigel Lawson (right): from 1985 to their simultaneous resignations in October 1989, the two men never discussed the ERM with one another

On the resignation affair of October 1989, he discloses his private discussions with the prime minister as the crisis developed. Most cognoscenti have interpreted the behaviour of Lawson and Howe as an attempt to get rid of Thatcher, or at least to cut her down to a size that they could manage. After he fired off his "Walters-or-me" demand, Lawson reports that she said: "If Alan were to go, that would destroy my authority." Lawson replied: "That was absurd; her authority owed nothing whatsoever to Walters." Lawson does not see that his statement, although true, was irrelevant. If by sacking me Mrs Thatcher had conceded to her ministers the right of veto over

her advisers, then her authority would indeed have been destroyed. She would have been easy meat for the ministerial wolves.

One of the themes of the memoirs is that Mrs Thatcher developed a bunker mentality — particularly after the Westland affair in 1985-6. Lawson complains that she "distanced herself from cabinet colleagues — certainly those who had minds of their own" and listened increasingly to her "loyal courtiers".

He argues that she became increasingly "authoritarian". Yet this description is inconsistent with what he says elsewhere: for example, on the enormous effort that she made to consult and take advice on

the issue of the poll tax. In my experience she was always as wide open to good arguments as she was devastating to bad ones. She would collect opinions and ideas from a wide circle, far beyond Lawson's clique. In demanding my head, Lawson gave the game away. He wanted her in his bunker. The Lady said "no".

These memoirs reflect a Chancellor of great gifts but fatal conceits. His achievements were enormous; so were his errors. For a long time we shall live with the consequences of both.

Professor Sir Alan Walters was personal economic adviser to the prime minister, 1981-89

The brave face of a very British decline

Do the Great and the Good get where they are by accident or by determination? Lord Greenhill plumps for accident, and he certainly does not fit the tabloids' caricature of a diplomat. From a free church family, he went to grammar school, then to Christ Church — yes, but his influential tutor J. C. Masterman thought he would do better in commerce. So he was taken on by the LNER and astonished to find that, in the days when excursion trains had no corridor, the takings in the coin box of the ladies' lavatory at Clacton on Sea on a

they were running the work. They excluded "a false bonhomie" with loud mirthless laughter, and it was virtually impossible to have a conversation without an air being thrown round one's shoulder. He also became acquainted with the wilder shores of the Commonwealth: General Amin asked him for aircraft to bomb President Nyerere. And then accident again shaped his life. George Brown wanted to shake up the Foreign Office. In his memoirs he says that Greenhill "was not by any means the obvious candidate to come permanent under-secretary". But it seemed to him that he had the qualities that that post required.

Greenhill gives the palm among foreign secretaries to Alec Home, with Michael Stewart a creditable second, despite his insulting treatment of some senior colleagues. One evening in New York before dinner with the Shah's sister, the zionist foreign secretary's trousers got stuck, and he and Brown veered together to make it close. During dinner Brown had to take a second retirement and on return to the table gave Greenhill triumphant thumbs up.

Nevertheless, Greenhill found working for the Labour government disheartening. Labour ministers, he thought, were ill at ease with the Soviets; they resembled nonconformists meeting the Pope. One suspects that at heart Greenhill remains an Anglican and a Euro-skeptic. He thinks we have been "consistently osmarned" because we labour under the illusion that we can change EC rules laid down by the federalists. On retirement, he joined the boards of several companies. He soon became convinced that his Oxford tutor was wrong to imagine that he would have been a better entrepreneur than a public servant.

More by Accident is available from Dant Books, 83 Marylebone High Street, London W1M4DE

Noël Annan
MORE BY
ACCIDENT
By Dennis Greenhill
Wilton 65, £16.95

To read these two books is to imbibe a deep draught of Scottish nonconformity, radicalism and pacifism — flavoured with a taste of Edwardian afternoons. Author of the first, Keir Hardie, is Tony Benn's wife Caroline, who has researched exhaustively among a mass of records, including newly available family letters. Author of the second is Margaret Stansgate, Benn's mother, who died aged 94 in 1991; and this, her autobiography, is most skilfully edited by Gillian Shepherd.

Keir Hardie, born in 1856, before the days of compulsory education, never went to school. At the age of eight he started work in Glasgow for a baker, earning 3/6d (nearly £5 today) a week, working 12 hours a day, seven days a week. There were a mother and two other children to support, as Hardie's stepfather had lost work through illness. When ten years old, he was one day a few moments late for work and was dismissed, with his last week's earnings deducted as a fine. His younger brother was dying, and his mother pregnant. So at ten he went down the pit to earn one shilling for a 12-hour day. His mother with some voluntary help taught him to read, but it was not till he was 17 that he had taught himself to write fluently.

Hardie became secretary of the miners' union local branch at 21; a paid organiser at 25, demanding an eight-hour day in the industry; and so secretary of the new Scottish Labour party in 1888 and MP for West Ham in 1892 as a United Liberal, Radical and Labour candidate. Caroline Benn, I am delighted to find, endorses the traditional

Cloth caps, Cliveden and the romance of socialism

Douglas Jay

KEIR HARDIE
By Caroline Benn
Hutchinson, £25
MY EXIT VISA
An Autobiography
By Margaret Stansgate
Hutchinson, £17.99



Lady Stansgate: social justice

story that when Hardie first arrived as an MP at the Palace of Westminster in his cloth cap, a policeman asked him if he was working on the roof, and he replied: "No. On the Floor."

In his years in Parliament from 1892 till 1915, recounted in rich detail in this book, Hardie emerges as caring about practical reform rather than doctrine. He believed in Christian ethics and social justice, but distrusted theology equally with Marxist theory. His hero was Robert Burns. He was resolutely opposed to violence, and consistently championed equal rights for women, resistance to war (he opposed the 1914 war effort) and, not least, temperance. When leader of the first real Labour party in the 1906 parliament, he promulgated a rule that no Labour member should "be seen drinking in any House of Commons bar".

On arriving in the House, Hardie found himself with no

income, neither secretary nor office and a wife and three children to support in Scotland. He solved the problem for many years by speaking at public meetings for three guineas a time, at the rate of three or four speeches a week all over the country, travelling by train. It was a remarkable feat. But it left his wife supporting the household with £2 a week or less.

He was not a practised debater, but spoke, some said like a Hebrew prophet, with a moral force which drew large audiences — almost on a Gladstonian scale. His parliamentary colleagues were critical. Ramsay MacDonald, a tidy

administrator, felt as if he had Moses as a colleague and complained: "We never knew where to find him." But there is little doubt that the cumulative effect over the years of Hardie's oratory built up lasting public support for his cause.

Hardie's enthusiasm for women's suffrage brought him into frequent contact with the clamorous Pankhurst family, and into a close intimacy with the young Sylvia Pankhurst. Some of the emotional correspondence between them suggests acute conflict in Hardie's mind. Today this might be thought welcome evidence of humanity amid the high moral principles. At the time, however, it bewildered his contemporaries. Caroline Benn concludes on the evidence that "whether they were lovers... must remain unknown".

While Hardie was writing to Sylvia from a tiny flat in Neville's Court, Asquith as PM was writing during Cabinet meetings to Venetia Stanley. When Margaret Stansgate, hitherto a fervent Asquithian, learnt of these "romantic" letters, she tells us in this biography that "had we, his [Asquith's] fervent supporters known this, we would surely have supported" Lloyd George for the premiership.

Like this confession, Margaret Stansgate's memoirs are endearingly simple (almost, but not quite,

to the point of naivety), persuasively written — here credit is also due to Gill Shepherd — and highly readable. They are a sidelight on her times from a very different social angle than Hardie's.

Margaret Stansgate was also the daughter of a Scotsman, a schoolmaster who became Liberal MP for Govan in 1911. The family were, of course, temperance enthusiasts as well as Liberals, and Margaret and her mother (but not her father) were advanced champions of women's rights and women's suffrage. Even in later years she backed ordination of women and argued the case with the Archbishop of Canterbury. On visits to the House of Commons gallery, she met her future husband, William Wedgwood Benn, also a Liberal MP and son of a successful publisher. He was converted to Labour in 1927, and so became a minister in the 1929 and 1945 Labour governments.

Here are some varied flashbacks by Margaret Stansgate. About Beatrice Webb's hesitation whether to marry Joseph Chamberlain: "She asked him whether people living in his house had to agree with his views. He said: 'That is so.' So she settled for Sidney Webb." After William had joined Atle's 1945 cabinet, Margaret discussed with Vi Atle how the two of them could best help the government: "We decided the best thing we could do was to improve our French." Edwardian mornings at Cliveden: "The windows seemed to have a life of their own. When the maid brought in early morning tea, the vibrations sent the windows up." Altogether a faithful record of a long, harmonious marriage and political partnership combined.

Saving vile bodies from themselves

Norman Stone

JOHN MAYNARD
KEYNES
The Economist as
Saviour
1920-1937
By Robert Skidelsky
Macmillan, £20

that Keynes was in love with her. Keynes then took up with a much-experienced Russian ballerina, Lydia Lopokova, who managed a remarkable and obviously happy conversion.

This rather irritated Keynes's smart Vile Bodies Bloomsbury friends, but marriage made him. As Skidelsky shows, it was associated with an enormous amount of work — philosophy, a *Treatise* on monetary economics, *The General Theory*, a tidal wave of journalism, innumerable appointments, and six-hour-long committee meetings at King's Cambridge, of which he was bursar. All of this was combined with advice to this or that government board and lecturing at Cambridge. The latter he hated, and I suspect that Skidelsky may treat Keynes's delivery of these lectures too kindly.

In the present volume, which is much longer than the first, Skidelsky has to do with some rather intractable economic analysis and, quite properly, he gives a great deal of space to it. Some of this is inevitably hard work for non-economists and we shall have to wait for Skidelsky's third and final volume for an overall summing-up of an important question: how do Keynesian ideas stand up in the 1990s?

At any rate, the economists of the 1920s and 1930s wrote rather well and argued their cases clearly and factually. Keynes was proving that, in effect, thrift impoverished you: if you did not spend money on employing others, they would not then have the wherewithal to pay for the services you yourself had to sell. In the not-so-long run, "capitalism" would consist of one man sitting on a huge pile of gold, surrounded by misery. Marx had said as much; Keynes looked for ways to rescue capitalism from him.

Not all economists agreed with Keynes — there was a famous collision with Hayek, who was sceptical about Keynes's wisdom on lines that anticipated the later scepticism of Milton Friedman and Tim Congdon. Was not the "stagflation" of the 1970s a verdict on the easy-answer Keynesian government spending proposed by *The General Theory*?

There is rather a depressing side to Skidelsky's book: the contrast with today. Keynes passed on to his many acolytes a desire to flout "the orthodoxy" and an instinctive feeling that there was some neat, easy solution round the corner if only stupidity and "orthodoxy" were pushed aside. The effect on the management of British public finance has not been healthy: you only need to compare it with the Bundesbank's doings in a post-war Germany that could not afford

fancy finance. Another depressing feature is the temper and style of academic life. In the 1920s, Keynes drew £700 as his academic income — about what Virginia Woolf considered necessary for an intellectual. Today, that would be around £60,000 — even more if tax calculations come. But if Keynes were the professor of economics at Cambridge today, he would be earning after tax some £20,000. The Keynesian state has been bureaucratized and proletarianized: why, is the question that I should put to a Keynes brought back from the lead.

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LINDA BARNES

Creator of Carlotta Carlyle

"The Snake Tattoo was a clear warning to Sue Gratton and Sara Parsky that their long-held supremacy of the American feminist private eye novel was under threat. With *Coyote*, Barnes destroys the duopoly and turns it into a ruling triumvirate."

Marcel Berlins, *The Times*

A TROUBLE OF FOOLS: THE SNAKE TATTOO • COYOTE • STEEL GUITAR

NEW WAVE CRIME FICTION FROM
Hodder & Stoughton Publishers

Set in an unidentified East European country in the last throes of communism, *The Porcupine* dissects the trial of the deposed communist leader, Petkanov. He is a wily old serpent of the Balkans, whose scorching wit and unexpected southern and vicious. The bird of freedom pined against the old system is already shabbily moulting. Petkanov is able to taunt his adversary with the chronic food and petrol shortages, electricity cuts and all the inefficiency and hardships attendant upon a full-scale economic and political crisis.

The Porcupine has already been published in Bulgaria, for obvious reasons. Only one former communist leader has been brought to trial in Eastern Europe. In an article in *The Times*, Julian Barnes insisted that his novel was fiction, not "history & class". "I had used the rough outline of Todor Zhivkov's trial, borrowed bits of the local topography, listened to Bulgarian friends but then I had gone off on my own, inventing the characters, making a plot out of a process, and so on." His Bulgarian readers apparently found it difficult to recognise the demarcation between history and fiction. A novelist's "right" to exercise freedom of the imagination evidently seemed to

them a somewhat flimsy liberty compared to the freedoms for which they had struggled.

As a non-Bulgarian reader of novels, however, it is easy to see the attractions from Barnes's point of view. Events in Bulgaria offered him the raw stuff of a terrific novel: the courtroom drama — a genre which rarely fails to grip — would provide a form which could encompass and focus urgent moral and political complexities: a clash of creeds could be explored through invented personalities.

In Barnes's fiction, indeed, the trial is pared down quintessentially to a struggle between two men: Petkanov and the Prosecutor General, Peter Solinsky. Petkanov is slippery and with low peasant cunning, robustly foul-mouthed. He is a devastating debunker of the illusions, frailties and follies of others, but remains invincibly locked into his own communist vision of the world. He is utterly corrupt, sneeringly cynical; yet his belief in the march of the International Socialist Revolution is unforgotten and monolithic. There is

Vengeance of a wily old guard

Caroline Moore admires a new novel by Julian Barnes which captures the mood of post-communist Bulgaria

THE PORCUPINE
By Julian Barnes
Jonathan Cape, £9.99

no question here of hypocrisy: we listen in to his private thoughts, Nixon-esque in their obscene denunciation of Gorbachev.

His opponent is intelligent, dull, sallow, nervous, flawed. Solinsky's career has been unglorious. His shifts in creed unheroic. He sheds his early belief in communism via stages of alternating indecision and redness: his marriage to the daughter of an anti-fascist hero is now atrophying. He is all too aware of the difficulties of legally entrapping a man who has corrupted the law to suit his own needs; and uncomfortably conscious, too, of the weakness of the new order he is championing. Already, it has its own grey evasions, its own corruption of the language to gloss over human suffering.

"I am not here," he replies stiffly to Petkanov's taunts, "to discuss the difficulties inherent in the change-over from a controlled economy to a

market economy." Necessity is the tyrant's plea: economic forces the capitalist's — which is not to say that communist tyranny and capitalism are at all the same. But if the champion of freedom is freer precisely because he can see the parallels, he is also weaker and in some ways more ignoble. He is fighting for a creed in which he cannot wholly trust. In this post-communist society, Barnes implies, truth rarely lies in honest doubt. In the last wishings of the serpent, doubt and dishonesty are inextricably implicated, and hypocrisy is the last sting in the tail.

The contrast between these antagonists, the unheroic hero and

flamboyant anti-hero, crippled decency and sinner lies, is, I suppose, obvious enough; but it is far from being a cliché. It is, rather, an archetype, capable of infinite permutations and imaginative resonances. In Barnes's version, decency is the casualty. The tragedy is that the trial becomes indeed "a show trial", as Solinsky's wife bitterly points out before she leaves him.

For all the novel's many strengths — its clarity and elegance, its humane intelligence — I was disappointed not to be more moved by it. It starts, indeed, with an atmospheric tour-de-force, which suggests that Barnes's creative imagination has been thoroughly fired by recent history. An old man in captivity is listening to the waves of sound from women clattering on pots and pans in the street below, "an every funeral music of the kitchen" from "a sunflower field of yellow faces lit by candles which

jumped at every drum stroke". They are not defying the incarcerated monster, however, but protesting at the food-shortages precipitated by his overthrow. Equally, the opening stages of the trial are shot through with fierce ironies, as Petkanov deploys the rhetoric of heroic resistance against an illegal state, refusing to recognise the authority of his judges.

Yet as the trial progresses, these ironies become oddly leached of humanity; effectively so, in a way. One could read the process as the final triumph of communism over Barnes's imagination. The first casualty is his prose. Barnes has brilliantly immersed himself in post-communist idioms. Communism, as one angry student puts it "corrupted even the words that come out of our mouths"; its legacy in Solinsky's mind is only the ability to "filter out bureaucratic distortions of the language". Increasingly, the novel is taken over by the two limiting sorts of discourse that remain: the stilled language of discredited officialdom, and the reductive crudities of

Petkanov's private monologues. The second casualty is character. Barnes faces this problem with his usual perceptiveness. Solinsky, thwarted in his attempts to understand Petkanov, wonders whether "we have moved into an era when 'character' is a misleading concept". Neither a liberal nor a novelist, of course, can accept that character is a "bourgeois" error; and Solinsky cannot meet Petkanov without succumbing to the primary human emotions: "curiosity, expectation, bafflement".

The problem is that the bafflement may in the end wear down the other two emotions. Even Barnes's students become bored with the trial when it does not satisfy their human lust for the dramas of knowledge and revenge. And if Petkanov is ultimately incomprehensible, a phenomenon rather than a character, even the disintegration of his marriage is bloodless, for the relationship between Solinsky and Maria was effectively over before the novel began.

This is an excellent novel, but a lean, cerebral one, which, for all its brilliant subtlety, remains paradigmatic. It is superbly humane in its moral concerns, yet strangely lacking in richness and humanity.

The grocer's lad who invented modern art

The Rockies may crumble, Gibraltar may tumble, and even Impressionist prices at auction are not what they used to be. But then they never really were, once the auctioneers' secret loans, extended credits and the like have been taken into account. Such fluctuations have not affected the feelings of the public at large. The Impressionists are still top of the pops. Far and away the best-attended London show in recent times has been the Royal Academy's splendid *Monet in the 90s: The Serial Paintings*.

In no important sense has the Impressionist bubble burst: no one seriously thinks that a few way out of line prices paid (or apparently paid) by those eager to buy publicly rather than art made the Impressionists better, or that their cessation makes them worse. Once the initial strangeness of their idiom wore off (which it did very quickly), the Impressionists have been assured the love of most critics and a massive general public, neither of whom are likely to be art buyers on that scale anyway. For critics the popularity is because they were rebels for the general public it is because their colours are warm and vibrant, their subjects easy to take and usually rather pretty. Both are part right, but oversimplify and look for easy answers where there are none.

The most popular artist of them all, Monet, is a case in point. Cézanne's famous dictum about him sticks in the memory, and sometimes in the throat. "Just an eye — but what an eye!" It sounds damning in an age when we want

our artists to be verbally intelligent. Monet wrote very few letters of any significance, and as a Grand Old Man he tends to be gnomish on the subject of his own work and the ideas behind it. It is therefore often assumed that Monet had great instincts but no intelligence. Those who seek, on the other hand, to present him now as a great thinker about art tend to be betrayed by

John Russell Taylor
THE COLOUR OF TIME
Claude Monet
By Virginia Spate
Thames and Hudson, £38

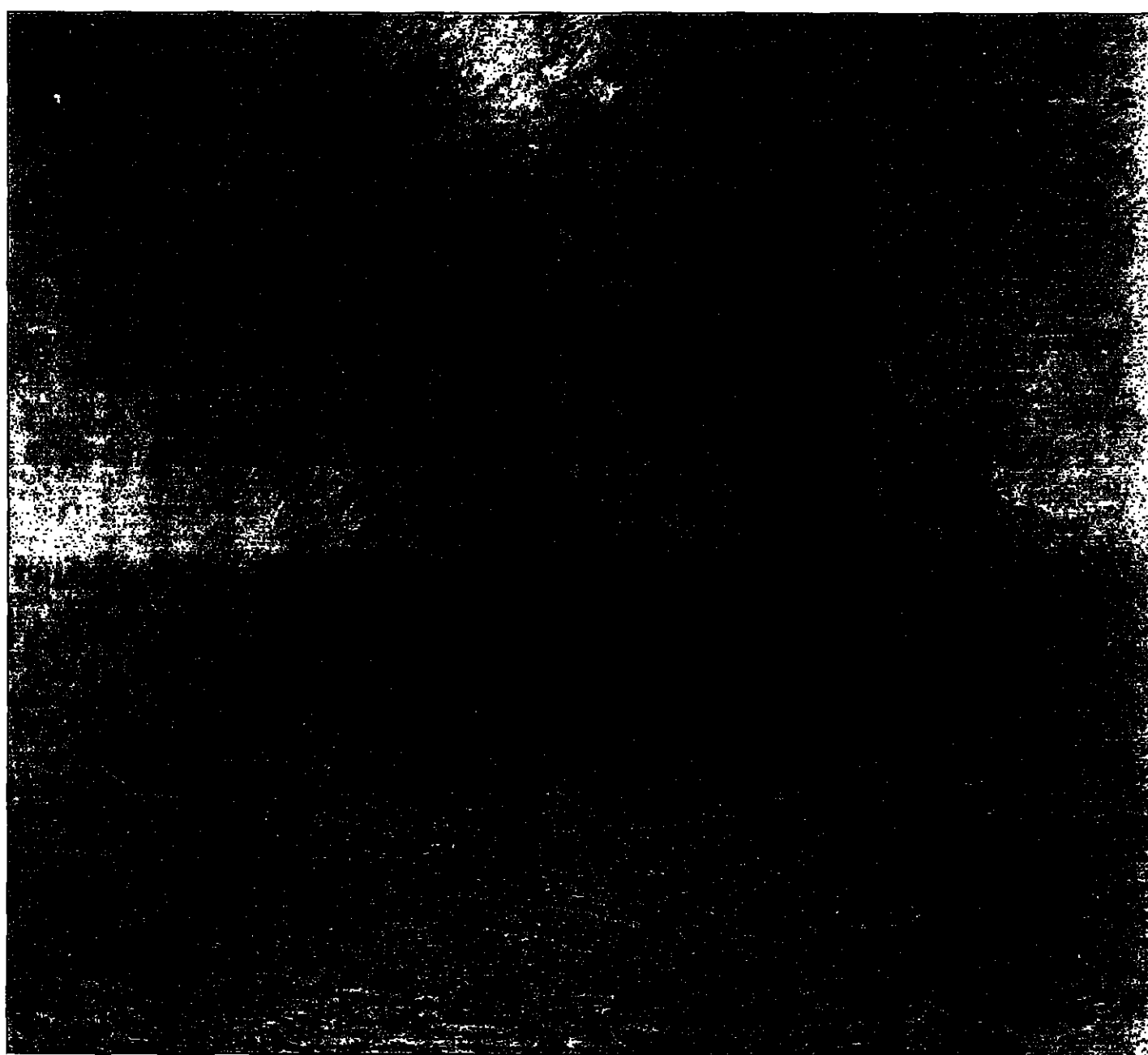
lack of material. Though Monet was the friend of literary men, and of eloquent politicians like Clemenceau, and could express himself perfectly clearly in words when he chose, the fact remains that he seldom chose to. Several of the published correspondences are decidedly one-sided: flowing dissertations on every subject under the sun may be the rule from his opposite number, while he replies in brief practical notes, or gets his companion and later wife Alice Hoschede to write instead.

As the lives of artists go, Monet's was quite interesting. He was brought up in and around a grocer's in Le Havre and seems to have acquired a similar canniness in business matters. As a local child prodigy, he got attention early. His beginnings as a professional artist in Paris were nonetheless fraught with the usual difficulties: lack of

money, family mistrust, the necessity to conceal his first romantic relationship with a model and the birth of their first child, in case a disapproving family should cut off his main means of support. But like most of the Impressionists, he later married the woman, legitimised the son, and became respectable. Although he was to go through difficult periods, he had laid the foundations of bourgeois success, and it is no surprise to discover that he was selling well and living in some style already in his thirties.

His early middle life was complicated by his relationship with the wife of one of his patrons, whose family and (presumably) favours he took over when the husband disappeared into bankruptcy. During the 1880s, the decade in question, he travelled a lot, but settled down to patriarchal life in Giverny and cultivating his garden by the end of that decade, elected early to be the Grand Old Man. It would be a recognisable life-pattern for a solid academic painter, not leaving much room for soul. But it must have been all an elaborate protection for his real obsession, which was the painting of light in a way no one had ever done before.

Virginia Spate rehearses the known facts, but wisely concentrates on the inner life as it is revealed in the paintings, without bothering to force too many explicit connections between the facade and the interior. It is the best way. Monet may well have been secretive as a man, but on canvas he is free to let himself be known. Why should we ask of an artist any more than that?



The Houses of Parliament, sun shining through a gap in the fog (1904): a late study of one of Monet's favourite subjects (© RNN)

Crowned heads and coronets

In 1789 sounded the knell for the French aristocracy, it was also a tocsin for the aristocratic system of Europe as a whole. Although the Congress of Vienna in 1815 reimposed the *ancien régime* throughout the Continent, there could be little doubt that the old order had been breached beyond repair.

The challenge that faced the aristocracies of Europe at the beginning of the 19th century was twofold: to adapt to a new political role (which in effect meant a graceful strategic withdrawal), and to survive financially, the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution.

Dominic Lieven uses the aristocracies of England, Germany and Russia to illustrate varying responses to this challenge, arguing that to spread his net any wider would entail snagging it on too many exceptions and anomalies. Although one longs to know how Sicilian or Hungarian grandees reacted as well, one has to concede that he is right to restrict his field. As it is, any synthesis is bedevilled by questions of terminology, and determining comparative wealth is complicated by fluctuating values of currencies.

Broadly speaking, the aristocracy in England was wealthier in 1815 than in Russia, let alone in Germany, where by comparison it was astonishingly poor. By the middle of the century, however, the Russians had dropped far behind, and by 1900 several German aristocrats had outstripped them and drawn level with their English counterparts. Land was traditionally the safest investment and the surest form of income. But economic change and unstable markets rendered the landowner vulnerable. Only those who diversified into urban property, industry and the stockmarket could hold

Adam Zamoyski

THE ARISTOCRACY IN EUROPE 1815-1914
By Dominic Lieven
Macmillan, £10.99 pbk
EDWARD AND ALEXANDRA Their Private and Public Lives
By Richard Hough
Hodder & Stoughton, £25



The Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, aged five, by Winterhalter

every own by profiting from the very economic situation. The English had done this early, the Germans rather late, but the Russians never managed it successfully. In all three countries, the very rich drew far ahead of the next tier of wealthy gentry.

In the political field, the English enjoyed far greater power than their foreign counterparts at the start of the century, but it was constitutionally-based and could therefore be shared or given away piecemeal without precipitating dangerous upheavals. The prerogatives of the German and the Russian aris-

tocracies were based on ancient rights and serfdom respectively, neither of which lent themselves to gradual change. As the French discovered in the 1790s, ideological prerogatives are most easily cut down on the scaffold. The English aristocracy also managed, through a unique combination of legislation, patronage and economic relationships, to maintain control of the army and, most importantly, of the countryside. The Russians had lost control of both, with disastrous consequences in 1905 and 1917.

Dominic Lieven's broad understanding of the subject and his pleasing sense of humour yield many surprising insights. He points out that while it was far less "modern" in most respects, the Russian aristocracy was culturally pre-eminent, producing a crop of giants of literature and music. And if the English and the Russians are reputed to have been more lavish and eccentric, it should be remembered that it was a German who imported kangaroos in order to liven up his shoots.

The ruling dynasties of the three countries were faced by much the same political challenge, and all three failed, royally and imperially, to face up to them. The Romanovs muddled along, gradually alienating even their court. The more enterprising Hohenzollerns tried to combine aggressive modernity with archaism, and fared little better. The British monarchy was saved only because the English aristocracy and middle-classes found it convenient, and themselves managed to control political change. It was certainly neither Queen Victoria, whose submissiveness and aloofness provoked a republican crisis in 1871, nor the ineffectual if popular Edward VII who saved the monarchy at a time

of revolution.

There is something deeply pathetic about the lives of figures such as Nicholas II and Edward VII. They were nice chaps who meant well. They were on the whole more compassionate than the societies over which they reigned, yet they could do practically nothing but hang on, trying to be good "fathers" to subjects who were increasingly independent of spirit.

Edward VII was an amiable character, and his notorious vices — gluttony, philandering and gambling — are hardly very objectionable. They, and his schoolboy urge to play with the fire-brigade, were in large part the consequence of a dreadful childhood dominated by the tiresome meddling of his mother and the asinine principles of his father, and of his being kept hanging about with nothing to do for most of his active life.

Richard Hough's new biography of Bertie and his wife Alexandra is a well-researched and well-mannered account, aimed presumably at the same people who study the present Prince and Princess of Wales' every move and outfit. I could have done with fewer adjectives — the women are all beautiful, charming, slender or graceful, the men splendid, fine, jolly or dashing — but then I am not the sort of person who gets goose-pimples from learning that a member of the crowd came forward and kissed Alexandra's hand, "she was not in the least put out".

This book is timely in that it reminds one of the scandals and unfavourable publicity that attended poor Bertie during his long wait for the throne, and it will give comfort to those who fear the present state of (professional) insignificance: scandals might damage the monarchy irreparably.

Count Zamoyski's *The Last King of Poland* has just been published by Secker & Warburg.

Andrew Marr's first

book is a very good one: "Let us start at the sunset of an Empire, with a long-haired Englishman, in a baggy suit in the House of Commons, one May night in 1912..." Not the beginning of a historical novel, but of a serious study of Scottish politics. Marr believes that the Asquithian parliament was engaged in an argument that we could pick up today "almost without taking breath". The argument is about a small north European nation "battling to create a political and constitutional settlement that would make it feel secure and content with its place in the world".

Though Marr admits to an occasional lapse from "reporterly dryness", his writing is sharply even-handed. He is not a nationalist, but he is a Home Ruler, because he holds to self-determination: "a principle regarded as a benign commonplace when applied beyond Britain but as vicious heresy when applied within the island". He does not believe the argument will necessarily end in self-government. He is clear that politics is less important than friendship, good books and high mountains; but he suspects that if Scotland were "to abdicate from the political", it would be rejecting "a whole world of social and intellectual choice that most societies find they need".

The Manufacture of Scottish History is a symposium on aspects of Scottish historiography. The book appears in the *Determinations* series, an enterprise attracting Scottish Arts Council subsidy; its editorial (and political) thrust is indicated by earlier titles in the series such as *A Woman's Claim of Right in Scotland*, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* and *Towards Independence*.

The editors have not turned solely to professional historians. The writer George Rosie is entertaining about the heritage industry, noting the obsession with Burns, the relish with which the National Trust for Scotland chronicles the

O Caledonia! stern and wild

Ian McIntyre

THE BATTLE FOR SCOTLAND
By Andrew Marr
Penguin, £5.99 pbk
THE MANUFACTURE OF SCOTTISH HISTORY
Edited by Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whitley
Polygon, £8.95pbk
ANATOMY OF SCOTLAND
Edited by Magnus Linklater and Robin Denniston
Chambers, £15.99

slaughter of the English at Bannockburn, and "Museum's apparent reluctance to mark Scottish enthusiasm for religion".

Michael Fry (the author, in Andrew Marr's view, of the best book on Scottish politics), is the only contributor from right of centre. He is unimpressed by the newer Scottish historiography, much of which "parrots a simple-minded leftist line" that the story of modern Scotland consists largely of capitalist oppression — except, that is, "where it parrots a simple-minded nationalist line that the story consists largely of English oppression". Fry deplores the belief that the essential historical realities are the relations of social classes and the lives of the anonymous masses. There is no need for Scottish historians to compete "in dredging the lower depths of history from below, and in hauling up out of oblivion all the submerged groups, women, ethnic minorities, sexual deviants, criminals and lunatics".

No such pungency irrigates the pages of the third of these books. The title *Anatomy of Scotland* courts comparison with Anthony Sampson's 1962 bestseller. Sampson, approached for a pre-publication endorsement, obliges with an ingenious Pickwickianism: "This will be an invaluable book for Scots-minded readers wherever they may be." That conjures a

picture of a British Council reading room in Eastern Anatolia, the local Scotophile population jostling eagerly for a sight of the list of Scottish Permanent Under-Secretaries of State since 1885. That may well be where this uncompelling bouillabaisse of journalism in hard covers finds its widest readership.

Sampson was strong on

personalities and opinions; the articles here (many of them by *Scotsman* journalists) shy away from all but the most superficial exploration of issues. We read that "education as a serious political issue in modern times dates from the 1964 general election, when Labour leader Harold Wilson promised voters a better future via technological progress". This will cause surprise, and possibly offence, in Anatolia, where the cult of Rab Butler remains strong.

Sampson worked at high speed and alone, offering himself as "an informal guide to a living museum". He was also entertaining, gracing one chapter with a crisp epigraph by Lord Milverton: "The ideal committee is one with me as chairman, and two other members in bed with flu." Magnus Linklater, editor of *The Scotsman*, should have instructed most of his contributors to go down with flu and knocked the book off himself. Better still, he could have pointed his publishers in the direction of Andrew Marr.

B.M. GILL

Gold Dagger Award Winner

"The pinnacle of crime fiction along with P.D. James and Ruth Rendell"
Graham Lord, *Sunday Express*

"...Outstanding as a macabre manipulator of buried secrets"
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Human Rights Law Report

Freedom to receive and impart information violated by Ireland

Open Door Counselling Ltd and Dublin Well Woman Centre Ltd v Ireland

(Case no 64/1991/316/387 388)

Before R. Ryssdal, President and Judges J. Cremona, Thor Vilhjalmsson, F. Gollub, F. Matscher, L.-E. Pettit, R. Macdonald, C. Russo, R. Bernhardt, A. Spielmann, J. De Meyer, N. Valticos, S. K. Mariens, E. Palm, I. Folghel, R. Pekkanen, A. N. Loizou, J. M. Morenilla, F. Bigi, Sir John Frelund, A. Baka, M. A. Lopes Rocha and J. Blayney, *ad hoc* judge.

Registrar M. A. Eissen

[Judgment October 29]

An injunction granted by the Irish Supreme Court restraining counselling agencies from *inter alia* providing pregnant women with information concerning abortion facilities abroad violated the applicants' right to receive and impart information as guaranteed by article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Court of Human Rights held, by 15 votes to 8.

"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers."

"The exercise of this freedom, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others."

Background

Two applications were lodged with the European Court of Human Rights in August and September 1988: the first by Open Door Counselling Ltd, a company which was engaged, *inter alia*, in non-directive counselling of pregnant women in Ireland concerning, if requested, the possibility of obtaining abortions in Great Britain.

The second was brought by Dublin Well Woman Centre Ltd, a company involved in similar activities. Ms Bonnie Maher, a citizen of the USA who worked as a trained counsellor for the Well Woman Centre, Ms Ann Downes, an Irish citizen, who also worked as a counsellor there, Mrs X and Ms Geraghty, both Irish citizens of child-bearing age.

Following proceedings brought

against the applicant companies by the Attorney-General at the request of the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children, the Irish Supreme Court, on March 16 1988, found that such non-directive counselling assisted in the destruction of the life of the unborn, contrary to the constitutional right to life of the unborn expressly guaranteed by article 40.3.30 of the Constitution of Ireland.

Article 40.3.30 (the eighth amendment), which came into force in 1983 following a referendum, provides: "The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to defend and vindicate that right."

An injunction was granted restraining the applicant companies and their servants or agents from assisting pregnant women within the jurisdiction to travel abroad to obtain abortions by referral to a clinic, by the making for them of travel arrangements, or by informing them of the identity and location of and the method of communication with, a specified clinic or clinics or otherwise.

The applications to the Commission were joined and declared admissible on May 15, 1990. Having attempted unsuccessfully to secure a friendly settlement the Commission drew up a report on March 7, 1991 in which it established the facts and expressed the opinion by 8 votes to 5 that there had been a violation of article 10 in respect of the applicants. On May 14, 1991, the Commission drew up a report on March 7, 1991 in which it established the facts and expressed the opinion by 8 votes to 5 that there had been a violation of article 10 in respect of the applicants. On May 14, 1991, the Commission drew up a report on March 7, 1991 in which it established the facts and expressed the opinion by 8 votes to 5 that there had been a violation of article 10 in respect of the applicants.

The Commission was referred to the Court by the Commission on April 24, 1991 and by the Government of Ireland on July 3, 1991.

In its judgment, the European Court of Human Rights held:

I Scope of Dublin Well Woman case

In their pleadings before the Court,

Dublin Well Woman and the two counsellors complained, for the first time, that there had also been a breach of article 8 of the Convention.

The Court recalled that the scope of its jurisdiction was determined by the Commission's decision declaring the application admissible. It considered that the article 8 claim was a new and separate complaint which it had no jurisdiction to entertain.

11 Government's preliminary objections

The Government submitted that only the corporate applicants could claim to be victims of an infringement of their Convention rights. The Court considered unanimously that Ms Maher and Ms Downes could claim to be victims since they were directly affected by the Supreme Court injunction.

As to Mrs X and Mrs Geraghty it was found by 15 votes to 8, Judges Matscher, Pettit, Russo, Lopes Rocha, Bigi, Blayney, Baka and Cremona dissenting, that they could claim to be victims since they belonged to a class of women of child-bearing age which might be adversely affected by the restrictions imposed by the injunction.

At the oral hearing before the Court, the Government submitted that the application should be rejected under article 26 of the Convention for failure to comply with the six-month time limit. The Court found unanimously that as rule 48, paragraph 1, of the Rules of Court required a party to file pleadings before the expiry of the time limit laid down for the filing of its memorial, that plea was made out of time, and it had to be rejected.

The Government further contended that domestic remedies had not been exhausted by Open Door as to its complaints and by Dublin Well Woman as to its. The Court found unanimously that so far as they sought to introduce evidence and submissions concerning abortion and the impact of the Supreme Court injunction on women's health that had not been raised before the Irish courts, by the four individual applicants, on the ground that they had made no attempt to exhaust domestic remedies under Irish law.

The Court rejected that plea unanimously on the basis that Open Door would have had no prospect of success in asserting these complaints having regard to the reasoning of the Supreme Court, that Open Door and Dublin Well Woman were not introducing a fresh complaint but merely developing their submissions in respect of complaints

that had already been examined by the Irish courts, that any action brought by the four individual applicants would have had no prospect of success.

11 Alleged violation of article 10

A Was there interference with the applicants' rights?

The Court noted that the Government accepted that the injunction interfered with the freedom of the corporate applicants to impart information. It also found that there was an interference with the rights of the applicant counsellors to impart information and the rights of Mrs X and Mrs Geraghty to receive information in the event of being pregnant.

To determine whether such an interference entailed a violation of article 10, the Court had to examine whether or not it was justified under article 10, paragraph 2, by reason of being a restriction prescribed by law which was necessary in a democratic society on one or other of the grounds therein specified.

B Prescribed by law?

Taking into consideration the high threshold of protection of the unborn provided under Irish law generally and the manner in which the courts had interpreted their role as the guarantors of constitutional rights, the Court found that the possibility that sections might be taken against the corporate applicants must have been, with appropriate legal advice, reasonably foreseeable.

That conclusion was reinforced by the legal advice which was actually given to Dublin Well Woman that, in the light of article 40.3.30, an injunction against the nature of life which was reflected in the stance of the majority of the Irish people against abortion as expressed in the 1983 referendum.

The restriction thus pursued the legitimate aim of the protection of morals of which the protection of the unborn was an aspect. The Court did not consider it necessary in the light of that conclusion to decide whether the term "others" in article 10.2 extended to the unborn.

C Aims legitimate under article 10.2

The Court found that the protection afforded under Irish law to the right to life of the unborn was based on the moral values which were reflected in the stance of the majority of the Irish people against abortion as expressed in the 1983 referendum.

The restriction thus pursued the legitimate aim of the protection of morals of which the protection of the unborn was an aspect. The Court did not consider it necessary in the light of that conclusion to decide whether the term "others" in article 10.2 extended to the unborn.

D Necessary in a democratic society?

The Government submitted that the Convention approach to the assessment of the necessity of the restriction had to be guided by the fact that the protection of the rights of the unborn in Ireland could be derived from articles 2, 17 and 60 of

the Convention. It was further contended that the proportionality test was inadequate where the rights of the unborn were at issue.

The Court examined those issues:

1 Article 2

The Court observed that it was not called upon to examine whether a right of abortion was guaranteed under the Convention or whether the focus was encompassed by the right to life as contained in article 2.

2 Proportionality

The Court recalled that the state's discretion in the field of protection of morals was not unlimited and unreviewable (see *Mutatis mutandis*, *Norris v Ireland* (The Times October 31, 1988; Series A No 142, p.20, paragraph 45)).

As the Court had observed before, it had been not possible to find in the legal and social orders of the contracting states a uniform European conception of morals, and the state authorities were, in principle, in a better position than the international judge to give an opinion on the exact content of the requirements of morals as well as on the necessity of a restriction or penalty intended to meet them (see *inter alia*, *Handyside v UK* of December 7, 1976 (Series A No 24, p.22, paragraph 48) and *Muller and Others v Switzerland* of May 24, 1988 (The Times June 4, 1988; Series A No 133, p.22, paragraph 35)).

However, that power of appreciation was not unlimited and it was for the court to supervise whether a restriction was compatible with the Convention.

As to the application of the proportionality test, it was, in principle, open to the national authorities to take such action as they considered necessary to respect the rule of law or to give effect to constitutional rights, but they had to do so in a manner which was compatible with their obligations under the Convention and subject to review by the Convention institutions.

Accordingly, the Court had to examine the question of necessity in the light of the principles developed in its case law (see *inter alia*, *Observer and Guardian v UK* of November 26, 1991 (The Times November 27, 1991; Series A No 216, p.29-30, paragraph 59)).

It had to determine whether there existed a pressing social need for the measures in question and, in particular, whether the restriction complained of was proportionate to the legitimate aim pursued.

In that context, the Court recalled that freedom of expression was also applicable to information or ideas that offend, shock or disturb the state or any sector of the population.

In addition, limitations on information concerning activities which, notwithstanding their moral implications, had been and continued to be tolerated by national authorities, call for careful scrutiny by the Convention institutions as to their conformity with the tenets of a democratic society.

The Court was first struck by the absolute nature of the Supreme Court injunction which imposed a perpetual restraint on the provision of information to pregnant women concerning abortion facilities abroad regardless of age or state of health or their reasons for seeking counselling on the termination of pregnancy. On that ground alone the restriction appeared over-broad and disproportionate.

Moreover that assessment was confirmed by other factors.

In the first place, the corporate applicants were engaged in the counselling of pregnant women in the course of which counsellors neither advocated nor encouraged abortion, but confined themselves to an explanation of the available options. The decision as to whether or not to act on the information so provided was that of the woman concerned.

In the second place, information concerning abortion facilities abroad could be obtained from other sources in Ireland such as magazines and telephone directories or by persons with contacts in Great Britain. The information was therefore already available elsewhere, although in a manner which was not supervised by qualified personnel and thus less protective of women's health.

Finally, the available evidence, which had not been disputed by the Government, suggested that the injunction had created a risk to the health of those women who at the time of the Court's judgment were seeking abortion at a later stage in their pregnancy, due to lack of proper counselling, and who were not availing themselves of customary medical supervision after the abortion had taken place.

Moreover, the injunction might have

had more adverse effects on women who were not sufficiently resourceful or who had not the necessary level of education to have access to alternative sources of information.

3 Articles 17 and 60

The Government, invoking articles 17 and 60 of the Convention, submitted that article 10 should not be interpreted in such a manner as to limit, derogate or deprive the right to life of the unborn which enjoyed special protection under Irish law.

Without calling into question under the Convention the regime of protection of unborn life that existed under Irish law, the Court recalled that the right to life did not prevent Irish women from having abortions abroad and that the information it sought to restrain was available from other sources.

Accordingly, it was not the interpretation of article 10 but the position in Ireland as regards the implementation of the law that made possible the continuance of the current level of abortions obtained by Irish women abroad.

4 Conclusion

The Court thus concluded, by 5 votes to 8, Judges Cremona, Matscher, Blayney, Baka, Pettit, Russo, Lopes Rocha and Bigi dissenting, that the restraint imposed on the applicants from receiving and imparting information was disproportionate to its aims pursued. Accordingly there had been a breach of article 10.

IV Alleged violations of article 8 and 14

Having regard to its finding that there had been a breach of article 10, the Court considered that it was not necessary to examine the remaining complaints under articles 8 and 14 raised by Dublin Well Woman, Open Door, Mrs X and Mrs Geraghty.

V Application of article 50

The Court, by 17 votes to 6, Judges Matscher, De Meyer and four other judges dissenting, awarded Dublin Well Woman IRE25,000 for loss of income as a result of the injunction. It unanimously accepted Open Door's claim for costs and expenses incurred in both the domestic and Strasbourg proceedings and awarded IRE68,985.75 as the amounts already paid by way of legal aid in respect of fees.

The Court also unanimously accepted, in part, the claims of Dublin Well Woman for reimbursement of the costs and expenses it had incurred in both the domestic and Strasbourg proceedings. It awarded Dublin Well Woman IRE100,000 less the sums already paid by way of legal aid in respect of fees and expenses.

Privy Council

Law Report November 5 1992

Privy Council

Pleading autrefois convict

Agent can maintain confidence

Richards v The Queen

Before Lord Keith of Kinkaid, Lord Bridge of Harwich, Lord Goff of Chieveley, Lord Lowy and Lord Slynn of Hadley

[Judgment October 19]

A plea of *autrefois convict* could only be sustained by evidence that the offence with which the defendant stood charged had already been the subject of a conviction adjudicated against him by a court of competent jurisdiction comprising both the decision establishing his guilt, whether it was the decision of the court or of the jury or the entry of his own plea, and the final disposal of the case by the court.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council so held in dismissing an appeal by the appellant, Lloyd Richards, from the dismissal on April 10, 1987, by the Court of Appeal of Jamaica of his appeal against his conviction on December 13, 1983 for murder.

Mr Peter Thornton, QC, for the appellant; Mr Glen Andrade, QC, DPP Jamaica, and Mr Kent Pantry, Deputy DPP Jamaica, for the Crown.

LORD BRIDGE said that the appellant was charged on indictment with murder. When he was arraigned, he pleaded guilty to manslaughter and counsel stated in open court that the Crown was prepared to accept that plea.

Defending counsel sought an adjournment in order to call

character witnesses and the case was adjourned.

The Director of Public Prosecutions considered that the plea of guilty to manslaughter should not have been accepted and decided to discontinue the proceedings in accordance with his powers so that the appellant could be charged with murder on a fresh indictment.

Accordingly, at the adjourned hearing a *note prosequi* was entered. The appellant was subsequently tried and convicted of murder and sentenced to death. The Court of Appeal dismissed his appeal against conviction and he was executed.

The central issue was whether a plea of *autrefois convict* could be sustained. Mr Thornton submitted that no more was required to sustain the plea than that the court before whom the defendant had previously been charged should have decided his guilt, whether by the court, where it was the tribunal of fact, announcing its decision to that effect, by the return of a guilty verdict by the jury or by the acceptance of a plea of guilty.

There was a curious conflict of authority which their Lordships had to resolve. It had been said many times that the word "conviction" was ambiguous and it had sometimes been construed in a statutory context as referring to nothing more than a finding of guilt.

It, in any case, following trial and conviction by the jury, the judge were to die before passing sentence, there would be no court

conclusion that to establish a conviction proof not only of the finding of guilt but also of the court's final adjudication by sentence or other order was required.

It was not until 1936 that any court sustained a plea of *autrefois convict* on the basis of a finding of guilt alone. The first such case was *R v Sheridan* (1937) 1 KB 223, which was followed in *R v Grant* (1936) 2 All ER 1156. Those two cases represented the high watermark of Mr Thornton's submissions.

But, although they had never been overruled, they had attracted strong adverse criticism. That was in *S for Sheridan*, *G for Grant* (1971) AC 481, 507, in which Lord Upjohn had said that the law plainly took the wrong turning in *Sheridan*.

Their Lordships' conclusion, in agreement with Lord Upjohn, was that the law did take the wrong turning in *Sheridan* and that *Grant* was wrongly decided. They reached that conclusion both on consideration of the authorities and on principle.

The underlying rationale of *autrefois convict* was to prevent duplication of punishment. But if the plea could be sustained on a finding of guilt alone, a defendant might escape punishment altogether.

Where a defendant was tried before judge and jury, both had their roles to play and together they considered the facts of the case and the evidence, and the judge was to pass sentence on the basis of the verdict of the jury.

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seised of the case by which sentence could be passed.

The defendant would have to be re-arraigned before another court and if he again pleaded not guilty would have to be retried. It would be absurd that he should be able to plead the jury's verdict in the first trial as a bar to a second.

In the case of *autrefois acquit* the position was different, because the jury's verdict of not guilty was a final adjudication and disposal of the case and the judge had no further function to perform.

The need for finality of adjudication by the court whose decision was relied on to found a plea of *autrefois convict* was even more clearly apparent where a defendant had pleaded guilty.

Not only might the defendant be permitted, in the discretion of the court, to change that plea at any time before sentence, but, where a plea of guilty to a lesser offence than that charged had initially been accepted by the prosecutor with the approval of the court, there could be no finality in that acceptance until sentence was passed. *R v Emmanuel* (1981) 74 Cr App R 135 was rightly decided.

Their Lordships recommended that the appeal should be dismissed, but expressed their opinion that in all the circumstances, and having regard, in particular, to the lapse of time between trial and the determination of the appeal, it would be wholly appropriate that the death sentence should be commuted.

Solicitors: Simons Muirhead & Burton; Charles Russell.

Kelly v Cooper and Another

Before Lord Keith of Kinkaid, Lord Ackner, Lord Browne-Wilkinson, Lord Mustill and Lord Slynn of Hadley

[Judgment October 19]

It was the business of an estate agent to act for numerous principals and therefore there was an implied term of the contract with such agent that he was entitled to act for other principals selling competing properties and to keep confidential the information obtained from each of them.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council so held in dismissing an appeal by the appellant plaintiff, Horace Brenton Kelly, from the judgment of the Court of Appeal of Bermuda which on November 30, 1989, had allowed an appeal by the respondent defendants, Margot Cooper and Helen Cooper (trading as Cooper Associates) from the judgment of Mr Justice Hull in the Supreme Court of Bermuda (Civil Jurisdiction). The Court of Appeal had set aside the plaintiff's claim for £200,000 damages to the plaintiff and had given judgment for the defendants on their counterclaim for commission on the sale of the property.

Mr David Oliver, QC and Mr Robert Powell-Jones for the plaintiff; Mr Kenneth Rolison, QC and Mr Geoffrey Bell, QC, of the Bermuda Bar, for the defendants.

LORD BROWNE-WILKINSON said that the plaintiff was at all material times the owner of a house in Bermuda, adjacent to it was a house, Verigo, belonging to Mr Brant.

The plaintiff appointed the defendants as agents to sell his house and they were to be paid commission based on the selling price. They were also instructed by Mr Brant as agents to sell Verigo.

In 1985 an American, Mr Ross Perot, approached the defendants with a view to purchasing property, and they showed him Caliban and Verigo. He made an offer of US\$2 million for Verigo, which was accepted. He made an offer of \$2.5 million gross for Caliban. Mrs Helen Cooper informed the plaintiff of that offer but at no time did the defendants tell him of Mr Perot's proposed purchase of Verigo.

Contracts for the sale of both properties were exchanged and completion took place. The purchase of Caliban was expressed to be for the plaintiff's son. When the plaintiff discovered that Mr Perot and his family had bought both Caliban and Verigo the plaintiff took the view that the defendants had acted in breach of their duty to him. He sought damages and the defendants claimed that they were not liable for breach of duty.

He brought an action against the defendants claiming damages and sought an order for specific performance of the contract for the sale of Verigo. The judge found in favour of the plaintiff but the Court of Appeal reversed that decision.

The judge was entitled to find that it was a material fact that the Perot family were interested in buying Verigo as well as Caliban. The purchase of either property was not made legally conditional on the purchase of the other, but the fact that Mr Perot was trying to buy both properties simultaneously and that the family in fact did so, was sufficient ground on which the judge could draw the inference that the Perots might attach importance to acquiring both properties. If a purchaser was

interested in buying two adjoining properties which were a special market in which he might, but not necessarily would, pay over the ordinary price to achieve his objective, Mr Perot's interest in buying both properties was a material fact which could have influenced the negotiations for the price at which Caliban was sold.

Was there any contractual duty on the defendants to disclose that material fact to the plaintiff? The resolution of the case depended on two fundamental propositions: first, agency was a contract made between principal and agent; second, like every other contract, the rights and duties of the principal and agent were dependent upon the terms of the contract between them, whether express or implied. All agents did not owe the same duties to their principals.

In a case where a principal instructed as selling agent for his property or goods a person who by his knowledge acted and intended to act for other principals selling property or goods of the same description, the terms to be implied into such agency contract would differ from those to be implied where an agent was not carrying on such general agency business.

Where estate agents acted for principals whose properties were of a similar description, there would be a conflict of interest between the

principals each of whom would be concerned to attract potential purchasers to their property rather than that of another.

Yet, despite that conflict of interest, estate agents had to be free to act for several competing principals otherwise they would be unable to perform their function.

In the course of acting for each principal estate agents would acquire information confidential to that principal. It could not sensibly be suggested that an estate agent was contractually bound to disclose to any one of his principals information which was confidential to another of his principals.

The position as to confidentiality was even clearer in the case of stockbrokers who could not be contractually bound to disclose to their private clients inside information disclosed to the brokers in confidence by a company for which they also acted.

Accordingly in such cases there had to be an implied term of the contract that the agent was entitled to act for other principals and to keep confidential information obtained from each.

Similar considerations applied to the fiduciary duties of agents. The existence and scope of those duties depended on the terms on which they were acting.

The scope of the fiduciary duties owed by the defendants to the plaintiff, and in particular the

alleged duty not to put themselves in a position where their city and their interest conflicted, were to be defined by the terms of the contract of agency.

Since the plaintiff was well aware that the defendant would be acting also for other vendors of comparable properties and in so doing would receive confidential information from them, the agency contract between the plaintiff and the defendant could not have included either a term requiring the defendants to disclose confidential information to the plaintiff, or a term precluding the defendants from acting for rival vendors, or a term precluding the defendants from seeking to earn commission on the sale of the property of a rival vendor.

The defendants committed no breach of duty, whether contractual or fiduciary, by failing to reveal to the plaintiff Mr Perot's interest in buying Verigo since such information was confidential to Mr Brant. Nor did the fact that the defendants had a direct financial interest in securing a sale of Verigo constitute a breach of fiduciary duty since the contract of agency envisaged that they might have such a conflict of interest.

Their Lordships recommended that the appeal should be dismissed.

Solicitors: Clifford Chance; Free Cholmeley.

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Their Lordships recommended that the appeal should be dismissed.

Solicitors: Clifford Chance; Free Cholmeley.

Tribunal cannot discipline for statutory offence

Regina v Milk Marketing Board, Ex parte Brook

Before Mr Justice Hutchison

[Judgment October 16]

The disciplinary committee of the Milk Marketing Board had no power to entertain charges against a milk producer under the Agricultural Marketing Act 1958 where the real nature of what was alleged constituted an offence under a statutory provision.

Mr Justice Hutchison so held in a reserved judgment allowing an application by Stephen Brook and quashing the decision of the disciplinary committee of the Milk Marketing Board on June 6, 1990 ordering him to pay penalties of £5,200 and to repay losses of £18,264 for knowingly making false returns of his sales.

Section 9 of the Agricultural Marketing Act 1958 provides: "(2) ... every scheme shall require the disciplinary committee to impose such monetary penalties as may be specified ... however ... no such penalty shall be imposed in respect of a contravention ... which constitutes an offence under this or any other Act."

Miss Cherie Booth for the applicant; Mr Richard Havery, QC and Mr Kenneth Parker, QC, for the board.

MR JUSTICE HUTCHISON said that the applicant had argued that the board's allegations had plainly imported dishonesty on his part and therefore they fell

squarely within the Theft Act 1978. The board's central contention was that the comparison of the offences had to be made at the beginning of the disciplinary proceedings, contrasting the terms of the offence charged with the terms of the statutory offence said to be comprised within that charge.

Captain Dibble to go one better

FOLLOWING a promising first run of the season at Ascot, Captain Dibble is taken to capture the Badger Beer Chase at Wincanton, today's most valuable prize.

A winner at Uttoxeter and Worcester last autumn, Captain Dibble reserved his best performance for the spring when he won the Scottish National at Ayr by eight lengths.

In view of that, his subsequent run in the Irish National was bitterly disappointing. However, he was lame when he returned home and it transpired that he had sustained a leg injury when badly hampered by a faller.

His recent Ascot run, when second in a good handicap chase, showed that he has made a complete recovery. Captain Dibble was catching Talent hand over first towards the end that day, the pair drawing well clear of

MICHAEL PHILLIPS

Belmont Captain, who had won his previous race in such style at Chesham.

Top weight today will be carried by Sparkling Flame, who was the best staying novice chaser two seasons ago when he won four of his five races, culminating with an eight-length victory in the Mumm Club Chase at Liverpool.

Last season, though, he lost his way completely in a manner that still baffles his trainer, Nicky Henderson. Until the old sparkle returns, it is probably best to hold a watching brief.

Espy and Laundryman, who finished third and fourth respectively in the Newbury pair drawing well clear of

month, meet again on the same terms.

When Foyle Fisherman won this race 12 months ago, he had had a preparatory run and also had everything in his own way in the race because the favourite, Garrison Savannah, ran a long way below his best. Foyle Fisherman is most unlikely to find life so simple this time.

My nap today is Mr Entertainer to win the Silver Buck Handicap Chase, even with top weight.

I saw the Nick Gaselee-trained nine-year-old in his box on Tuesday evening and he looked absolutely magnificent — fitter in my view, and also in the eyes of his trainer, than when he ran a fine race on his seasonal debut at Newbury last autumn to finish second to Espy.

After that Mr Entertainer was in commanding form on successive occasions: first at

Newbury, where he accounted for Guburn's Nephew, and again at Kempton where he beat Gold Options by ten lengths, breaking the track record. He now has a fine chance of winning again on ground that he will relish.

The Tattersalls' Main Only Novices Chase qualifier can go to Ballyroe Lady, who was

beaten only a neck in a similar race at Newton Abbot while Good For A Loan has the benefit of Marcus Armytage's assistance in round two of the South-West Racecourses Amateur Riders Series.

At Uttoxeter, not even the very promising Cherrykino, who won by four lengths at Worcester first time out, should prevent one of last season's top novices, Milford Quay, from picking up where he left off — on a winning note in the Arlington Premier Series Chase qualifier.

Piggott discharged
LESTER Piggott was discharged from Miami's Hollywood Memorial Hospital late on Tuesday night, only three days after his Breckers Cup fall at Cheltenham Park. Piggott, 57 today, is expected to stay in Florida for a few days before returning to the same hospital for a check-up.

Gaslee trains Mandarin
Gaslee trains Mandarin (3.15)

YESTERDAY'S RESULTS

Newbury
Going good to soft

1.35 (2m 4f) 1. DUSTY MILLER (C) 10.11.88 (1st) 2. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (2nd) 3. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (3rd) 4. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (4th) 5. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (5th) 6. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (6th) 7. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (7th) 8. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (8th) 9. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (9th) 10. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (10th)

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7.00 (2m 4f) 1. DUSTY MILLER (C) 10.11.88 (1st) 2. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (2nd) 3. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (3rd) 4. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (4th) 5. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (5th) 6. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (6th) 7. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (7th) 8. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (8th) 9. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (9th) 10. DUBLIN FLYER (C) 10.11.88 (10th)

Commons to study VAT crisis

BY RICHARD EVANS, RACING CORRESPONDENT

THE VAT crisis threatening the breeding and bloodstock industry is to be investigated by the Commons employment select committee.

Fears of job losses of at least 15,000 following from the different VAT rates — 17.5 per cent in the UK compared to 5.5 per cent in France and 2.7 per cent in Ireland — have prompted the enquiry following a request by Richard Spring, Conservative MP for Bury St Edmunds.

Spring, a member of the all-party select committee, said yesterday: "Between 15,000 and 17,0

- 8.00 **Cortona** (56037) 7.00 **The Big Breakfast** (21766)
- 9.00 **You Bet Your Life**. American game show (s) (25921)
- 9.30 **Schools** (217747)
- 12.00 **The Parliament Programme** presented by Anne Perkins (45785)
- 12.30 **Sesame Street**. Pre-school learning series. The guest is Harry Belafonte (63389) 1.30 **Tea's 5**. Children's entertainment (70568)
- 2.00 **Friday**. 1984 starring Scott Brady and Rita Gam. Western adventure about an Indian uprising thwarted by a brave artist (Brady) and a pretty squaw (Gam). Directed by Kurt Neumann (18414)
- 3.30 **A Wealth of Wildfowl**. Peter Scott with the story of a 21-mile long strip of rough grazing on the East Anglian fens that is inhabited by 25,000 ducks and 1,000 swans (t) (369)
- 4.50 **Friday**. Drama serial about a Midlands-based Asian family (s) (124)
- 4.30 **Fifteen To One**. Fast-moving general knowledge knock-out quiz (s) (308)
- 5.00 **The Oprah Winfrey Show**. With the mother of a convicted teenage murderer and the parents of a teenage victim (s) (8285921)
- 5.58 **The Magic Roundabout**. Classic children's series, narrated by Nigel Planer (t) (840230)
- 6.00 **The Word: Across All Areas**. A behind-the-scenes look at last Friday's edition of *The Word* (s) (501)
- 6.30 **Gamesmaster**. Computer game show (853)
- 7.00 **Channel 4 News**. (Teletext) Weather (78721)
- 7.30 **Comment** from historian Dr John Murrill on the gruesome background to Bonfire Night (995601)
- 8.00 **The Black Bag: God's Don**.
© CMC. "If you can just look that someone's on their side and someone who doesn't want anything from them." As he drives round, the roughest streets of Kingston, Jamaica, Catholic



100-443887-100

Proven innocent: three of the "UDR four" are free (8.00pm)

9.00 Critical Eye: Loyalty on the Line.

● **CHOICE:** Miscarriages of justice connected with Northern Ireland are nothing new, but the story of the "UDR four" has an unusual twist in that the convicted men are Protestants. The murder of a Catholic man in Armagh in 1983 resulted in four soldiers in the Ulster Defence Regiment receiving sentences, but earlier this year three of them were released after an Appeal Court ruling. In *Loyalty on the Line*, the three express their feelings at being wrongly accused after what they claim were forced confessions, and with Neil Latimer still in prison, they reveal their new life's work, to get him out. The programme looks afresh at the evidence but also speculates on why it all happened. Could it be that after the scandal of the alleged "shoot to kill" incidents, the RUC were trying to show their even-handedness? (Teletext) (\$550)

9.00 Film: Prison Stories — *Women on the Inside* (1991). A trilogy of

2.50 Film: *The Last Adventurers* (1937, b/w) starring Niall McGinnis. A shipwrecked mariner falls in love with the daughter of the captain

Real World (84143) 7.30 Mpt


[illegible]

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

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هكذا من الأهل

Rugby union tour opens in Leicester with low-key anti-apartheid demonstration

South Africans outpace Midlands

Midland Division 9
South Africa XV 32By DAVID HANDS
RUGBY CORRESPONDENT

THE South African rugby union team, playing their first match in England since 1970, enjoyed a trouble-free passage at Leicester yesterday. They beat the Midlands, England's divisional champions, by three goals, a try and two penalty goals to two penalties and a dropped goal, and suffered no interruption from a low-key anti-apartheid demonstration.

It was a timely lift to morale for the South Africans, who had lost four of nine matches in France, and was the worst defeat the full Midlands side has had against South Africa since it lost the inaugural fixture 29-0 in 1906.

Four tries to none is hard to argue with, although the Midlands forwards must have been startled at the amount of possession won, then wasted. Had John Liley worn his kicking boots, it might have been different, but the full back, on his own ground, missed five penalty attempts and, as his success rate dropped, so did his forwards. The South Africans, having absorbed so much for an hour, then used their greater penetration to run in two late tries to a generous ovation from the crowd of 13,000.

The most encouraging aspect for the touring party was the lineup. Although ball was at the front has limited value, it is better than losing it and Hatching worked well. Since the South Africans also had to overcome the loss of Schutte, with a pinched nerve in his neck after 18 minutes — and later Barnmann with a shoulder injury which may end his tour — their reorganised pack responded well.

Even so, they still lost the battle for the loose ball and if the Midlands backs had possessed in midfield some of the strength that Thornycroft of-



Tackling the task: Hackney, the Midlands wing, is caught by van Rensburg, the South Africans full back, in the match at Leicester yesterday

fered on the wing, they would surely have crossed the South African line. Yet the one consistent strength the visitors have shown on tour is defence. Even though their activities on the ground displeased Jim Fleming (the penalty/free kick count favoured the Midlands 22-10), the divisional backs could not make it count.

For much of the first hour, Midlands played constructive rugby — up to a point. Yet still they trailed, 10-9 at the interval and 17-9 going into the

final quarter, thanks to two tries from Knoetze. The first arrived courtesy of Gerber, who found himself running against a back division including Pearce and justifiably fancied his chances. Knoetze, however, handling a low pass well, to finish off.

The kickers exchanged thrusts, Steele dropping a goal from 45 metres to narrow the gap to one point before Knoetze struck again. The little centre took the direct route from a ruck to the try-

line and, with Botha's kicking, it was a good enough platform for victory.

Oosthuysen, freed by Hendriks coming off his wing, scooted past two defenders into one corner and then, turned up on the other wing, after the Midlands lost possession. He made 60 metres before Hackney caught him and he then found Gerber for a well-deserved try.

Although there were nine arrests near the Welford Road ground during the night,

there were none on the day, thanks partly to a substantial police presence. Only about 30 people took part in a protest march.

Naas Botha, the captain of the touring side, did not know he was playing until breakfast time, when le Roux cried off through illness. But the stand-off was happy with his team's introduction to England. "It's probably the best we have combined as a team," he said. England B will prove a tougher combination to beat on

Saturday in Bristol.

SCORES: Midlands Division: Penalty goals: Liley (2). Dropped goal: Steele. South Africa: Tries: Knoetze (2), Oosthuysen, Gerber, Conversions: Botha (2). Penalty goals: Botha (2).

MIDLAND DIVISION: Liley (Leicester), S. Hackney (Leicester), J. Bates (Leicester), S. Poole (Leicester), H. Thornycroft (Northampton), J. Steele (Northampton), A. Cawood (Leicester), M. Linnert (Mossley), J. Oiler (Northampton), G. Pearce (Northampton), P. Shillington (Mossley), M. Johnson (Leicester), M. Bayfield (Northampton), R. Tubb (Northampton), D. Richards (Leicester capt).

SOUTH AFRICANS: T. van Rensburg, J. Oosthuysen, D. Gerber, F. Knoetze, Hendriks, H. Botha, capt, G. Wright, H. Rodgers, W. Botha, K. Andrews, W. Barnmann (capt), P. Pretorius, H. Hatching, P. Schutte (capt), F. Smith, J. Macdonald, A. Flower. Referee: J. Fleming (Scotland).

Johnson takes his magic out of fearful NBA

By OUR SPORTS STAFF

FEAR finally took its toll on Earvin "Magic" Johnson, the National Basketball Association (NBA) superstar with the Los Angeles Lakers and possibly the world's most famous HIV positive case. It was not his own fears that caused him to end his comeback this week but those of his fellow players.

Johnson, who tested positive for the HIV virus that causes Aids last year, retired from the Lakers for a second time on Monday. While he did not make his reasons clear, a key factor was statements made about the dangers of playing against him. Johnson would not put his fellow professionals in a position they felt uncomfortable with.

"Each player has his own comfort level," Charles Grantham, the NBA Players' Association executive director, said. "For the most part, that comfort level is that they will play with him [Johnson] but they have concerns."

Grantham did say the element of fear among players was overstated. "Calling this mass hysteria, as one headline in New York put it, is a major leap from the minority of players who had legitimate concerns about playing with Magic Johnson," he said.

The issue, and subsequent concerns, does raise the possibility of Aids testing in the league. Grantham, though, expressed caution on that front.

"There are a lot of questions that have to be answered before we leap into mandatory Aids testing among players," he said.



Johnson: retired

Grantham said any testing procedure would have to be part of a labour-management agreement. "There's the problem of false positives, who tests and who doesn't, when the tests are to be made," he said.

Last weekend, Karl Malone, who played on the gold medal-winning United States team with Johnson at the Barcelona Olympics, expressed doubts about Johnson's comeback.

Another Olympic teammate, Charles Barkley, had said in February, before Johnson's first comeback match, the All-Star game, that he should not play. Barkley said it was not because he was afraid but because he believed Johnson should not have to deal with the aggravation.

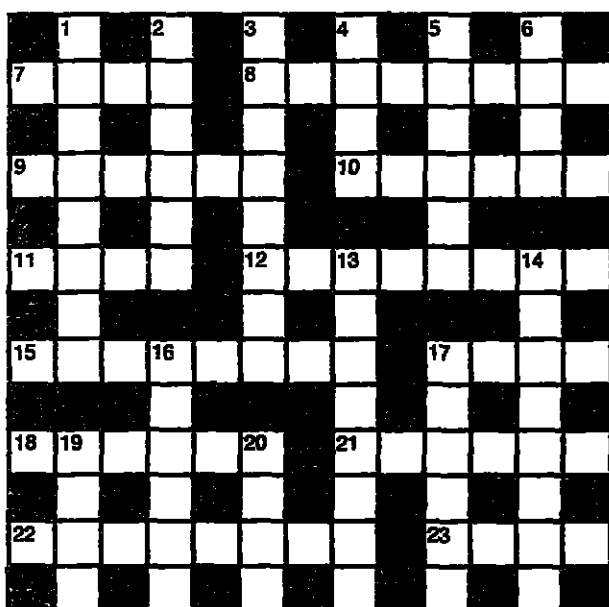
"I was referring to him getting out because of the criticism and the turmoil," Barkley said. "I didn't want that, because Magic is a good guy, and I knew that anonymous people would sit around and snipe at him."

Barkley said he still believes other players' fears are unfounded. "I'm not going to be kissing him and if he starts bleeding, they'd take him out of the game," he said. "It's ridiculous. People don't know anything about HIV. Everybody is a doctor all of a sudden. I played against the guy every day last summer and it never crossed my mind."

Dr Howard Grossman, who treats Aids and HIV-infected patients in New York, agreed there are fears about Aids not based on fact. "The players in LA live with an incredibly higher risk of dying in an earthquake or a plane crash than of getting Aids from Johnson," he said. "It's probably more likely the earth would be hit by a comet."

But Grossman said the second retirement of Johnson "doesn't have anything to do with numbers. It has to do with fear... If another player got HIV, he would probably say, 'Magic dripped blood on me.' It is all a sad finale for a man who, more than anybody, has taken the game to where it is today. He deserved better. Much better."

CONCISE CROSSWORD NO 2937



ACROSS

- 7 Tarry (4)
8 Political ideas (8)
9 Ancient (3-3)
10 Redbreast finch (6)
11 Cremation pile (4)
12 Prevail over (8)
15 Rice/fish/eggs dish (8)
17 Film extract (4)
18 Gambol (6)
21 Decree irrevocably (6)
22 Wide view (8)
23 Circle (4)

DOWN

- 1 Face waterspout (8)
2 Flashing disco light (6)
3 Forest pig (4,4)
4 Hand out cards (4)
5 Rim (6)
6 Leer (4)
13 Drink-abstaining (8)
14 US football field (4,4)
16 Eight pints (6)
17 Cosses (6)
19 Wander (4)
20 Scratch (4)

SOLUTIONS TO NO 2936

ACROSS: 1 Fred, 4 Scholar, 8 Registrar, 9 Gynn, 10 Sea, 11 Orchestra, 12 Tonic, 13 Hoist, 16 Separates, 18 Pad, 20 Bea, 21 Inventory, 22 Damages, 23 Trend.

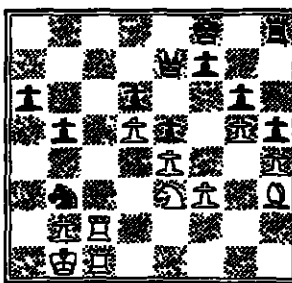
DOWN: 1 Pares, 2 Engrain, 3 Disconcerting, 4 Struck, 5 Horse chestnut, 6 Legit, 7 Rampant, 12 Testbed, 14 Improve, 15 Staves, 17 Psalm, 19 Dying.

WINNING MOVE

By Raymond Keene, Chess Correspondent

This position is a possible variation from the game Spassky - Fischer, Sveti Stefan (Game 8) 1992. Black has a material advantage, but this is only temporary. Why? White to play.

Solution below.



Solution: White sacrifices the black queen and will emerge a piece up.

CROSSWORD E... HUSIASTS: For mail order details of all Times Crossword Books and The Times Computer Crossword software for beginners or experts, (runs on most PCs), telephone Akom Ltd on 081 852 4575 (24 hours) or call CDS Doncaster on 0302 990 000. Postage free until Christmas (applies UK only).

Hayrettin issues warning

By PETER ROBINSON

ATTENTION in England may, understandably, have been on Eland Road, Leeds and the European Cup last night, but away from prying eyes there was a worrying sign of what may await the national side at Wembley on November 18.

It seems Turkey, the visitors for England's second outing in the World Cup qualifiers that night, may not be the pushover Taylor and his team are hoping for.

Galatasaray yesterday gave notice that the Turks are capable of providing England with the most obdurate of opposition in group two. Facing Eintracht Frankfurt in the second round, second leg of the Uefa Cup, the Istanbul-based team snatched an unlikely 1-0 victory and a place in the third round of the competition.

A fortnight earlier, Galat-

asaray had held Eintracht, among the front-runners in the German league, to a 0-0 draw in Frankfurt. On home territory, they snatched a fifth-minute lead and then hung on grimly for the next 85 minutes.

The day's hero was Hayrettin Demirbas, Galatasaray's Turkish international goalkeeper, he gave a dominant display, pulling off two particularly fine saves to deny Anthony Yeboah. Eintracht's gifted Ghanaian forward, Ugur Tununeker scored the all-important goal.

Although another Turkish side, Fenerbahce, crashed spectacularly in the same competition yesterday, all was not what it seemed. A thumping 7-1 defeat by Sigma Olomouc, of Czechoslovakia, one of Europe's most underrated outfits, was largely due to a temperamental performance in which

three Fenerbahce players were sent off.

The first to go was Kartal Ismail, dismissed in the 41st minute for a foul. Gerson followed in the 73rd minute, also for a foul, with Tedimer Hakan joining him just a minute later after picking up his second booking of the game for dissent. Sigma, who won 7-2 on aggregate, scored three of their goals in the final 14 minutes.

It was not a particularly good day to be German as, rather predictably, Werder Bremen lost their grip on the Cup Winners' Cup. The winners last year were trailing 3-2 from the first leg — at home — to Sparta Prague and lost the return in Czechoslovakia 1-0 to slip out of the competition 4-2 on aggregate. Siegl, after seven minutes, scored the game's only goal in front of a 35,000 crowd.

Barnet given three weeks to pay kit bill

BARNET were yesterday threatened with a winding-up order over an unpaid £15,000 bill for replica kit.

DMF Sportswear, the manufacturer, is in the first of a three-year contract with Barnet, who have three weeks to come up with the money or face High Court action.

Neil Friar, managing director of DMF, said: "It is a substantial amount of money and we have tried the conventional means of reclaiming it without success." The kit involved is for sale to supporters. DMF also supplies Fulham and Luton Town and has contracts for leisurewear with another 30 clubs.

Barnet, dogged by financial problems all season, are also involved in a row with their players over alleged shortfalls in wages.

S Africa withdraws World Cup bid

By RICHARD STREETON IN JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH Africa yesterday withdrew its application to stage the next cricket World Cup. The decision will disperse International Cricket Council (ICC) fears that it could become embroiled in knock-on effects from the political problems in the country and the controversy involving the South African rugby union team.

By revoking claims to host cricket's most lucrative event, South Africa has left England and a triangular bid from India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka as the only candidates to stage the competition. It will take place in 1995, if England is chosen, or in 1995-6 should the Asian conglomerate succeed.

Dr Ali Bacher, the managing director of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA), said his board's withdrawal followed an unprecedented home and away programme of 19 Test matches and more than 50 one-day internationals that had been arranged for the next two years, coupled with its commitment to the development programme for blacks. "It makes it impractical to under-

take the massive organisation that goes with staging the World Cup."

South Africa, who returned to the ICC fold only last year, was also concerned for the ICC's best interests, Dr Bacher said. "There is a viewpoint that things have happened too fast for us and I cannot altogether disagree. We have enough on our plate and we need to consolidate. The World Cup, in addition to our other commitments, might not be in the best interests of South African cricket."

Dr Bacher denied that the

decision, which had been rumoured for several days locally, had any connection with politics, sponsorship problems in the recession or the demonstrations against the South African rugby union side. Neither the African National Congress, nor its sporting arm, the National Olympic Sports Council, had been consulted. The UCBSA decision had been simultaneously faxed to the ICC and its worldwide members as he held his press conference.

There is little doubt, however, that the ICC in recent days has become concerned about the disputes that it might inherit from rugby union's problems and it will be relieved to be spared them. The ICC is delighted that the present Indian tour of South Africa is taking place so successfully; it admires the game's development among the country's underprivileged. But it has watched with dismay the recent demonstrations against the South African rugby union players in England.

The ICC almost certainly would have called for an emergency meeting had South Africa looked likely to

win the vote. As it is, the sealed bids submitted by December 1 from the Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB) on England's behalf and from the sub-continent will be opened first and studied at Lord's by Sir Colin Cowdrey and Lt Col John Stephenson, the ICC president and secretary.

England, who missed being chosen as World Cup hosts by one vote at last July's ICC meeting, are now probably favourites, though they might be hard-pressed to find the guaranteed £250,000 plus for each of the 12 entrants promised by their rivals. Dr Bacher spoke for many ICC members when he said South Africa was not in favour of the highest bidder necessarily winning.

"We are very keen to host the competition again and determined our bid to stage it will be acceptable," Alan Smith, the TCCB's chief executive, said, when he announced recently that three companies have expressed an interest in sponsoring the tournament. "We have a great deal of experience in managing events of this stature."



Bacher too fast

Gocho's new roots, page 43